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# HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

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Macbeth—Malcolm Canmore—David I.—Homage—Norman In-  
fluence.

1. INTRODUCTION.—If we may believe the earliest writers of Scottish history, the northern part of Great Britain was colonized by, and derives its name from, *Scota*, daughter of that Pharaoh who perished in the Red Sea while in pursuit of the children of Israel. The same monkish authorities record, that the first king of Scotland was Fergus, who reigned more than 300 years before the birth of Christ, and that the later monarchs of the country descend from him in uninterrupted line. These narratives, however, when examined, prove not only inconsistent with themselves, but entirely at variance with the accounts transmitted to us by trustworthy writers. The learned men of the Middle Ages, imbued with an exaggerated notion of the value of antiquity, sought to confer distinction on their respective countries by connecting their early annals with the fall of Troy, or with events even more remote. Such fables are now universally rejected: modern writers seek rather to establish truth than antiquity, and hold it of far more importance that a nation should be prosperous and happy, than that it should be capable of tracing a long line of kings back to the wanderings of *Æneas* or to the times before the Flood.

For our knowledge of the early inhabitants of this island we are indebted to the Romans, its first invaders and civilizers. Those haughty conquerors, however, have transmitted to us

little more than a highly coloured narrative of their own warlike exploits : a few notices of the peculiar customs of the natives are occasionally given, but not the slightest vestige is preserved of their language.

2. THE ROMANS.—It was in the year 80 of the christian era that the celebrated commander Julius Agricola first carried a Roman army into Scotland. He laid waste the country as far as the Tay, and, during five years in which he occupied it, built several forts, and especially a chain of defences between the Forth and the Clyde. Tacitus, his biographer and son-in-law, describes a great battle which he fought in the year 84, at the Grampian Mount, against a native chief called Galgacus. The natives we are told were put to flight with immense slaughter; but it is evident that the Romans, highly civilized and warlike as they were, had serious difficulties to contend with among the hardy northern people, whom the classical writers denominated Caledonians. After Agricola's departure, the natives destroyed his forts and regained the country they had lost. In the year 120 the Emperor Adrian visited his British colony, and thought it expedient to make a rampart between the Solway Frith and the mouth of the Tyne, to divide the partly civilized inhabitants of the south from

A. D. } their northern neighbours. During the command of  
140-161. } Lollius Urbicus, the greater part of Scotland was overrun, but a very meagre account has been preserved of that general's operations. He carried his arms, however, far northward, and built a wall between the Forth and the Clyde. There are several remains of Roman fortification and architecture in Scotland which may probably be assigned to this age—such as the fine Roman camp at the Bridge of Ardoch, and a bath at Burghhead, on the Moray Frith. After this period the Romans seem to have had but a precarious empire even south of the wall of Lollius Urbicus, and scarcely any beyond it, while the wild Northmen frequently burst through the barriers, and invaded the half-civilized territories. Britain was abandoned altogether by the Romans in the 5th century, and from that period, for some hundreds of years, the annals of Scotland are shrouded in darkness.

3. RACES AND LANGUAGE.—There are many doubts and disputes as to the race and language of the people of Scotland during the Roman period. The inhabitants of Western Europe are at this day divided into two very distinct races, the one called Gothic, Teutonic, or German, the other Celtic. Among the former are the English, the Lowland Scots, the Germans, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians—their lan-

guages are all derived from a common stock, and a Scotsman can still manage at times to make himself understood by a Dutchman or a Norwegian, though their ancestors separated from the parent family more than a thousand years ago. Among the Celtic tribes are the Highlanders of Scotland, the people of the south and west of Ireland, the Welsh, and the inhabitants of some parts of France and Spain. To which of these great families the early inhabitants of the Lowlands of Scotland, who are sometimes called Caledonians and sometimes Picts, belonged, has been the subject of much dispute. At some period or other the whole island appears to have been covered with Celts, from the names of places being still in their language. But it is certain that, from a very early date, the Lowlanders of Scotland were a people of the same origin as the English. As to the Highlanders they came over from Ireland in the 4th century, and settled themselves by degrees along the west coast. They were called Scots or Scots; and it is singular that they thus gave its name to Scotland, for Scotia, or the kingdom of the Scots, when used by the ancients, always referred to Ireland. Far to the north, again, a Gothic race was immediately supplied from Norway and Denmark. The Shetlanders belong to Norway, but even in the northern counties of the mainland we find such names as Halladale, the river Fleet, and Broadford, —more like English than Highland designations.

4. CHRISTIANITY.—The only fact of a very early date known about Scotland, after the departure of the Romans, is the eminently important one of the introduction of Christianity. Ireland had been partially converted at a remote period, and from that country St Columba, commonly called the Apostle of the Picts, passed into Scotland in the year 565. His biographer says that he required an interpreter to converse with the Picts—a circumstance which appears to indicate that they did not speak a Celtic tongue like the Irish. He established himself with a little community of priests on a small island off the western coast, called after him Icolmkill, or the Cell of Columba; and he is said to have been the founder of the religious order of the Culdees, who for a long time maintained themselves separate from the church of Rome.

5. MACBETH.—Of the lists of kings which the old chroniclers provide, it is difficult to say how many were really entitled to that name. Many were only powerful chiefs, who had ascendancy over their neighbours. They were mixed up with the rulers of the Saxons, for Scotland was not then a separate compact country, with a fixed boundary. Many of

those called kings of Scotland held dominion within the present boundaries of England, and Berwickshire and the Lothians were frequently governed by a king of Northumbria. The first person who appears to have exercised authority over all Scotland was Malcolm, called the Second, whose reign began in 1003, and who acquired the Lothians from the Saxon Earl of Northumbria in the year 1020. Malcolm was succeeded by his grandson Duncan, who was killed by Macbeth. This monarch's name is well known. The chroniclers related so many marvels about him, that Shakspeare drew from them the materials for one of his finest tragedies. Little, however, is really known of Macbeth, and it is questioned whether he murdered Duncan or killed him in battle. The narrators of these fabulous histories of Macbeth lived about 400 years ago, and their histories are ancient even to us; but we must remember that Macbeth lived 400 years before them, and that no contemporary has left any account of the events of his reign. Indeed, the only thing at all certain about him is, that he was a benefactor of the church, and made a pilgrimage to Rome. Duncan had a son, known in the history of Scotland as Malcolm Canmore, a word said to mean, in Celtic, Great Head. Assisted by his Saxon friends in the south, he A. D. } regained the throne by driving Macbeth and his fol-  
1066. } lowers to the far north, where they were conquered, and their leader slain. Malcolm, who succeeded to the throne after a short interval, had much influence over the state of Scotland. In his exile he had married Margaret, a princess of the royal blood of England. This naturally connected him with the Saxons; but he was brought into much closer intercourse with them when William the Conqueror came over A. D. } from Normandy, and assumed the government of  
1066. } England. Many of the Saxons then sought refuge at the Scottish court, where they found themselves among a kindred race, resolved to defend their country against the Norman invaders. It is at this time that Scotland begins to assume the shape of a separate country. While the Saxon inhabitants of England were their own masters, the Lowlanders of Scotland, being of the same blood and language, had no national differences with them. Jealousies sprang up, however, when England came under the sway of the Norman conqueror; but the countries were never completely dissevered till Edward I. treated Scotland as a conquered province.

6. David, the youngest son of Malcolm, when he came to the throne, had a partiality for the Norman conquerors of England, his sister being married to Henry I. In support of

the right of his niece to the crown, which Stephen had usurped, he made war on England, and was defeated at the battle of A. D. } the Standard, where the wild Galloway men, and other  
1138 } inhabitants of the far-off districts of Scotland, for the first time astonished the Norman chivalry of England. The oldest churches and other religious establishments now known in Scotland are said to have been founded by David. He was supposed to have given away so much valuable property for such purposes, that one of his successors pronounced him "a sair saunt for the crown."

HOMAGE.—During the reigns of the successors of David there were many disputes between the kings of Scotland and the Norman kings of England; but it might be said that the Scottish king was more of an Englishman than the English king, for the Saxons, who were of the same race as the Scottish Lowlanders, came to the Lothians and Fifeshire to seek protection from the exactions of the Norman invaders. The kings of Scotland considered themselves entitled to rule over Northumberland; and one of them, called William the Lion, endeavoured A. D. } to recover this inheritance by an invasion. He was  
1174 } defeated and taken prisoner, and was removed out of England, where his Scottish or Saxon friends might have been able to release him, and confined in Normandy. The Norman kings who succeeded William the Conqueror had introduced the feudal system of doing homage for the possessions which one king held near the centre of the dominions of another. Thus the king of England did homage to the king of France for his dominions in Normandy, and the king of France did homage to the emperor of Germany for the states bordering on the empire. The English monarch desired the Scottish king in the same manner to do homage for his estates in Northumberland. This circumstance afterwards produced the wars which desolated Scotland, for Edward I. maintained that the homage was performed not only for these estates in the north of England, but for the whole realm of Scotland. Henry II. prepared the way for this claim by getting William the Lion, when he was his captive, to do homage to him unconditionally, and become his vassal without any limitation.

7. NORMAN INFLUENCE.—From the days of Malcolm IV., who ascended the throne in 1153, to the death of Alexander III., which occurred in 1286, Scotland was governed by a succession of able monarchs, who consolidated their power, and attended to the interests of the people. Malcolm had given great encouragement to the Norman adventurers who frequented the court of England to settle in Scotland, and the example was



followed by his successors, so that at last the greater part of the Lowlands was partitioned into lordships belonging to persons of Norman descent, who even held extensive districts in the distant Highlands. Many religious houses were founded and churches endowed during that period. The greater politeness and learning of the Normans led them to obtain the chief offices belonging to these foundations. Many of the barons were connected both with England and Scotland, and it naturally served to keep the countries much connected with each other, that the aristocracy of both were thus of the same race. The kings of Scotland had occasional quarrels with those of England, but there was little national jealousy; and if they had been well governed, the people would have cared little, perhaps, whether their king lived in Edinburgh or London. We shall presently see how the tyranny of Edward I. changed these feelings. The laws of the two countries were in many respects alike, and in old documents we see mention of coroners and mayors in Scotland, just as in England at the present day. There was much more enmity between the Highland Celts and the Lowlanders than between the Scots and the English. The inhabitants of the Highlands and isles had their own native princes, who frequently asserted their independence, and might have preserved their people as a separate state, had they been strong enough to cope with the kings of Scotland. Before the calamitous wars with England broke out, the country was remarkable for its wealth and prosperity. Commerce and industry made considerable progress, and the remains of old buildings show that the churches and the castles of the nobility were not inferior to the same classes of edifices in England.

On the 19th of March, in the year 1286, as Alexander III. was riding in the dark between Burntisland and Kinghorn, on the north coast of the Frith of Forth, he lost his way, and, falling over a precipice, was killed on the spot. This was the beginning of the calamities which it is now necessary to detail.

#### EXERCISES.

1. What fabulous accounts are given of the early history of Scotland? Who were the writers of these fables, and what were their motives? How is it that we know little of Scotland during the time of the Romans?
2. Who first brought the Roman arms into Scotland? At what period was it? Describe the career of Agricola. What ramparts and lines of forts were built? Give an account of the subsequent proceedings of the Romans in Scotland.
3. Into what races is Europe divided? What disputes are there

about the ancient inhabitants of Scotland? What were they called? Where did the Highlanders come from? Whence was the name of Scotland derived?

4. Give an account of the introduction of Christianity. What is said of the Culdees?

5. What is peculiar about the early kings? Who may be considered the first king of all Scotland? Name a monarch about whom many fables have been told. Give an account of Malcolm Canmore.

6. What chiefly occurred in David's reign? What edifices were erected in his reign? What acknowledgment was extracted from William the Lion? What was its effect on the fate of the kingdom?

7. During what period was Scotland prosperous and well governed? Describe the footing which the Normans obtained in Scotland. What benefits attended this Norman intercourse? What is remarkable about the early laws of England and Scotland? When did the calamities of Scotland begin?

---

## CHAPTER II.

### FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER III. TO THAT OF DAVID II., A. D. 1286—1371.

Disputed Succession—Wallace—Robert Bruce—Bannockburn—David II.—Regency—Coronation of Edward Baliol—Battle of Halidon Hill—Sieges of Lochleven, Kildrummie, and Dunbar—Alliance with France—Invasion of England—Defeat at Neville's Cross, and Capture of the Scottish King—The Country overrun by the English—Liberation of the King—His Death.

1. **DISPUTED SUCCESSION.**—Margaret, a young girl, granddaughter of William III., was heir to the crown at his death, and it was agreed that she should be married to the young Prince Henry, the son of Edward I. of England. From such a union it might have been anticipated that the whole island would have become one compact kingdom; but it was doomed not to take place, for the young princess died in the course of a voyage from Norway. Ten competitors for the crown now made their appearance. Of these the nearest relations to the last monarch were Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, and John Baliol, lord of Galloway, both descended from daughters of David, earl of Huntingdon, the brother of William the Lion. Baliol was the grandson of the elder daughter, and Bruce the son of the younger. The latter was thus nearer in relationship, but according to modern notions the former would be the right heir, as the descendant of an elder child. The principles of succession were not, however, very precisely established in the 13th century. It was not unnatural, therefore, to leave the

decision of the question to the neighbouring king, Edward of England, who saw in the coming dispute an opportunity for getting possession of Scotland. Edward convened the competitors A. D. 1291. } before him, and obtained from each one of them in turn } an admission that he, as king of England, was the superior and lord paramount of the kingdom of Scotland. This appeared to be an act of gross national treachery, but it is not surprising when we reflect that these competitors were generally Norman knights, fully as much connected with England as with Scotland, and that the prospect of obtaining a crown on any terms was a great temptation to their ambition. The 20th Nov. } competitors were next desired to state their claims, 1292. } and the decision was in favour of Baliol, who did homage immediately as the vassal of Edward.

2. Baliol having given a decision as to the earldom of Fife, Macduff, the party against whom he decided, according to feudal usage, appealed to Edward as lord paramount, and Baliol was summoned to London. He went there; but having declared that he must consult his parliament before he could consent to obey Edward as a vassal, he was treated as contumacious. The parliament assembled, and encouraged by their independent spirit, Baliol renounced his feudal allegiance. An army was raised to defend the country, and the English king was put at defiance. That powerful and warlike monarch, however, immediately marched northwards, and stormed and March } plundered Berwick, the nearest town in Scotland to 1296. } his own dominions. Marching onwards, one place of strength gave way to him after another. He carried off from the old palace of Scone what was considered the great symbol of national independence—an ancient stone, on which the kings of Scotland had been crowned from time immemorial. It still stands in Westminster Abbey, forming part of the coronation chair. Edward now held himself not merely to be lord paramount, but owner of all Scotland; and he appointed the Earl of Moray to be governor of the country, with English officers of state and judges. Believing the subjugation of the country to have been fully accomplished, he returned to England.

It was now that the common people of the country, who at first had but little interest in the contest for the crown, felt the cruel oppression of the rule of strangers, who exacted from them excessive taxes and services, and subjected them to every insult and humiliation. It was, however, in vain to expect redress through the Norman aristocracy, who had no sympathies in common with them, but who were much more likely,

as strangers themselves, to be the instruments of foreign tyranny.

3. WALLACE.—In their hour of need, however, a champion arose from among themselves in a native Scottish gentleman named William Wallace, the owner of a small estate near Paisley. Burning with indignation at the sufferings of his country, he slew one of the oppressive officers of the conqueror, by whom he was insulted. Having been declared an outlaw, he wandered through the country, and, collecting a trusty band of partisans, attacked and routed the troops commanded by May } Ormsby, the English king's justiciary, at Scone. He  
1297. } was joined by some of the Norman aristocracy, including Bruce, the claimant of the crown, Douglas and Lindsay; but the greater portion of them afterwards basely deserted him. Still, however, his career was attended with wonderful success. The governor, Warrene, with Cressingham the treasurer of Scotland, were attempting to cross the Forth near Stirling by a narrow wooden bridge, when they were impetuously attacked by Wallace and defeated, and Cressingham, who by his exactions and tyranny had become extremely odious, was killed. Wallace was soon afterwards chosen governor of the kingdom, an event which excited the jealous dislike of the Norman barons, who looked upon him as a man of inferior rank, who should not have aimed at such preferment. Two of them, the Earls of March and Angus, carried their disgust so far as to defeat his able plans of defence by exposing them to Edward, and thus 22d July } caused the defeat of the forces he commanded near  
1298. } Falkirk. Wallace now resigned his office of governor, and Bruce, Comyn, and the Bishop of Glasgow were appointed guardians of the kingdom. For some years after the battle of Falkirk, a harassing warfare was conducted by the English with little decided success, and their troops received a severe 24th Feb. } repulse from Comyn and Sir Simon Fraser near  
1303. } Roslin. King Edward, whose interest had for some time been turned towards the aggrandizement of his possessions in France, now conceived that it would be his best policy to round off and consolidate his British empire by completely and decidedly annexing Scotland to England. With a large army he passed to the northern extremity of the island, and did not return until he had exacted homage from all the great lords. He granted them indemnity for what he counted their past rebellion, Wallace being specially excluded from the pardon. This steadfast patriot sought shelter in the mountain fastnesses of the country; but his hiding-place being basely

22d Aug. } betrayed, he was dragged in chains to London, and  
 1305. } there tried for treason and executed, much to the  
 discontent of the English people, who could only see in him  
 a champion who had risen against those Normans who were  
 the common oppressors of both countries. His head was placed  
 on London Bridge, and fragments of his body were sent for  
 public exposure at Newcastle, Berwick, Perth, and Aber-  
 deen. Wallace was essentially the national hero of Scotland  
 —the first to stand forth for its independence as a separate  
 country. His memory has thus been revered throughout the  
 land; and there is scarcely any place either in the south or  
 north where some castle, or cave, or ancient tree is not asso-  
 ciated in tradition with his name. Like all popular heroes,  
 he was said to be a man of gigantic height and wonderful  
 strength, and thus many incredible feats have been attributed  
 to him; but those which are true are sufficiently great to  
 consecrate his memory.

4. BRUCE.—King Edward continued to rule Scotland as an  
 English province, and made it his policy to keep the compet-  
 itors for the throne in attendance at his own court with the  
 English nobles. Robert Bruce, the grandson of that Bruce  
 who had competed with Baliol, and Comyn, another claimant,  
 took the opportunity of meeting at Edward's court to arrange  
 a plan by which one of them might obtain the crown of Scot-  
 land. Comyn turned traitor against Bruce, who would have  
 been arrested, had not a friend given him timely warning to  
 take horse and flee, by sending him a pair of spurs. Comyn,  
 not supposing that he was suspected, agreed to meet Bruce in  
 the church of the Franciscans at Dumfries. In the course of  
 the discussion they came to hot words, and Bruce, in a mo-  
 ment of fury, stabbed Comyn with his dagger. Those who  
 had accompanied them now rushing forward, Bruce, suddenly  
 repenting of his rashness, said he doubted he had killed  
 Comyn. One of the attendants, named Kirkpatrick, sneering  
 at his doubt, despatched the wounded man, saying, "I mack  
 sicker"—words which have ever since been the motto of his  
 family.

Such deeds of violence were too common in those days, but  
 Bruce's crime was considered peculiarly atrocious—not so  
 much because it was a murder, as because it was committed  
 within the precincts of a church. He felt that he could now  
 only escape from punishment by fighting his way to the sove-  
 reignty of Scotland, and he at once undertook the task. His  
 career was begun under circumstances peculiarly dishearten-  
 ing, for he was excommunicated by the pope, and had made

in the eyes of all men an unpropitious commencement. Ere he had time, however, to feel the influence of these things, he was crowned at Scone on the 27th of March 1306, and had determined to be king of Scotland or to lose all. The enterprise was doubtful and difficult. He had not only to contend with the power of England, but with the great Highland potentate, the Lord of Lorn, who, considering himself a kind of king, not unnaturally preferred to do homage to the English monarch in preference to a master nearer home. When he sought refuge in the neighbouring mountains, he had to fight a desperate conflict with this Lord of Lorn, who in the end was defeated. Bruce sent his female relations to the strong castle of Kildrummie in Aberdeenshire, which was attacked and taken. The ladies fled, but were afterwards betrayed to King Edward; and they, with all the kindred and followers of Bruce who were captured, were treated with cruelty and insult. The aspirant for the crown was compelled to hide himself in distant inaccessible retreats, and was subject to many hardships. These things exasperated Douglas and his other followers, who frequently retaliated so fiercely on the English officers, that they felt Scotland a very dangerous place of residence, and disliked the service in which they were employed. Bruce, re-appearing from his hiding-place, gained a victory near

March } Ayr, which made Edward, though old and infirm,  
1307. } resolve to march to Scotland, that he might at once crush the insolent usurper, as he was termed. He died, however, on the 7th of July 1307, before he could enter the country, and in his last moments showed his ferocious hatred of the people who were trying to recover their independence, by directing that the flesh should be removed from his bones, and his skeleton carried at the head of the army.

5. BANNOCKBURN.—His successor, Edward II., was a man of far inferior ability and energy—one who probably would not have thought of extending his empire by conquest. His very weakness, however, by preventing him from taking manly resolutions, induced him not to give up Scotland. His measures of defence were so imperfect, that Bruce daily gained advantages, and, with the exception of a few strongholds, was master of the whole country. The King of England at last resolved to lead into Scotland a host which, he believed, would annihilate all opposition—and under the able command of Edward I. it might have done so. His army has been computed at 100,000 men—more by one-fifth than the number commanded by the Duke of Wellington at Waterloo. As he approached Stirling, he was met by Bruce at the head of an

army only half as large. The English force, however, consisted of Norman knights and their followers seeking military distinction, while Bruce's army was composed of men roused by a national spirit of independence, and resolved to preserve their liberty or die. After some preliminary skirmishes, the two armies confronted each other on the 24th of June 1314, on the banks of a small stream called the Bannock. Robert the Bruce was a man of great military ability, and his reverses and hairbreadth escapes had taught him prudence and circumspection. He disposed his force with much skill, occupying the defensible parts of the ground, while he dug pits to increase the difficulties of the approach, and even made use of a rabble of camp-followers, instructing them to deploy along an eminence which gradually ascended at some distance from the field, so that they might appear like an army of reserve. The Scots prepared themselves sternly for the work before them. The Abbot of Inchaffray passed along their ranks, and in the manner of the time administered to them the communion. As they knelt to receive it, the vain king of England, accustomed more to court flattery than to rugged independence, said, "See! they kneel—they ask for mercy!" on which D'Umfreville, who rode beside him, agreeing that they asked for mercy, observed to the monarch, that they sought it not of him, but of a higher power. Bruce had excellent captains in his relation the Steward of Scotland, Sir James Douglas, and Randolph, earl of Moray—men who could remain steady at their posts, and not fear the glittering charge of the English horsemen, with all their brilliant array of armour. The first attack was steadily met, the Scots standing in compact bodies, and checking the charge of the horsemen with their long spears. As the baffled masses retreated, their own army was skilfully charged, and, after some hard and doubtful fighting, the appearance of the camp-followers on the hill so startled and confused Edward's host, that it was thrown into disorder, and the firm attack of the Scots bore all before it. Edward himself fled as fast as a fleet horse could carry him, and the chroniclers say that he left 30,000 of his followers dead on the field, including many of the chief nobles of England. Such was the celebrated battle of Bannockburn, worthy to be remembered not so much for the military skill and valour by which it was gained, as for the object it achieved—the freedom of a nation.

Robert the Bruce, now the undisputed king of Scotland, lived among his people beloved and honoured; but his early struggles had hurt his constitution, and he died at the age of

A. D. } fifty-five. The spirit of romantic adventure inspired him  
 1228. } to the last, and he desired his faithful follower, Sir James  
 Douglas, to carry his heart to the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem. That worthy knight considered the dying bequest more imperative than the commands of his living sovereign, and he conveyed the heart in a silver casket through difficulties and dangers, until he was killed in Spain, in battle against the Saracens, after having thrown the casket before him, saying, "Onward as thou wert wont, thou noble heart! Douglas shall follow thee."

6. DAVID II.—After the death of its great deliverer, Scotland went through a long period of misery and danger. As Robert was succeeded by his son David II., a child only four years of age, it was necessary that the actual government should be exercised by some older person. King Robert's nephew Thomas Randolph, had at first been an ally of the English and one of his greatest enemies, but like many other powerful chiefs he sided with Bruce when his enterprise seemed to afford rational hope of success. He was made Earl of Murray, and was one of the bravest and most skilful leaders in the war of independence. Highly trusted by Bruce, he was selected by that monarch, with the consent of the barons, to be regent of the kingdom during the young king's minority. He was a man of straightforward character and popular manners, which along with his courage and good generalship made him a favourite with the soldiers. He attempted what was very difficult to accomplish in such a time of confusion—the enforcement of the law and the preservation of property. He endeavoured to attain his object by extreme severity, and many offenders were put to death during his government as examples to others, but the people were too savage and turbulent to be at once brought into a state of order and submission. Andrew Wyntoun, who was the prior of a monastery in Lochleven, wrote an account of those times in rhyme, which is still extant. It contains several amusing stories of the regent's efforts to enforce the laws. Among other things he hanged a man for stealing his own plough. The better to discover depredators, he had made the neighbours responsible to replace anything that was stolen, justly believing that this would give them a strong interest to discover the actual thief and bring him to justice. In this instance a peasant had concealed his own plough, said it was stolen, and raised the value of it from his neighbours. When the fraud was discovered Murray caused the man to be executed.

7. He had not long held the regency, however, ere great dan-



gers again menaced the independence of the country. It has been already mentioned that the Lowlands of Scotland were so mixed up with England, that there was really no natural jealousy between them. If Scotland had been well treated, it would have felt no more anger or humiliation from being governed by a king living in London than it does at present. It was not the person who exercised the power, but the way in which he exercised it, by interfering with their old privileges, and subjecting them to cruel and imperious officers, that roused them to resistance. When the war was ended and they had expelled the tyrants, there was no longer the same cordiality of feeling or community of interests, and the Scots isolated themselves and became national. A large part of the country had belonged to the Norman knights who frequented the court of England, and from whom they had suffered so much. These aristocratic adventurers were not only discouraged in future, but many of them were deprived of the estates which they had obtained. Thus antiquaries remark that, throughout the south of Scotland especially, the estates belonged to people of Norman name, such as De Vipont, D'Umfraville, De Quincey, &c., but that after Bruce's time they are found to be in the possession of owners with plain Scottish names, such as Scott, Johnston, Armstrong, Bell, and the like. The Norman knights were not inclined to give up their estates without a struggle. Robert the Bruce had engaged that those English subjects who had a claim to estates in Scotland by succession should be allowed undisputed possession of them, but the English maintained that on one pretence or other even this was not fulfilled. A number of them, chiefly of Norman descent, who had been in various ways disappointed, combined and formed an army to support the claims of Edward, the son of John Baliol, the former king. They were encouraged in their views by the death of the regent in 1332. They were but a small body, amounting to between four and five hundred men-at-arms, with about as many thousand followers; but in those days a well equipped man-at-arms was generally equal to a great number of ordinary foot soldiers, and this little troop consisted of the flower of the Norman aristocracy. They landed in Fife and marched to Perthshire, where the Earl of Mar, who had succeeded Randolph as regent, gathered a force to meet them. They came upon him, however, by surprise at Dupplin, slew him

24th Sept. } and dispersed his troops with great slaughter. This  
1332. } event took place near the old palace of Scone, where  
it was usual to hold the coronations of the kings of Scotland,

and there Edward Baliol was immediately crowned. He acted as his father had done, and acknowledged the feudal authority of the King of England, on being assured of his countenance and support.

8. It seemed as if now again Scotland had come quietly under the English yoke. But most of the strongholds were still occupied by Scottish garrisons, and there were yet some able leaders to defend the country, such as John Randolph, the son of the regent, Sir Andrew Murray, and the two Douglases, Archibald, and William called the Knight of Liddesdale. Before the English king had taken efficient measures to support him, Baliol when living in idle luxury at Annan, met with as complete a surprise as he had himself inflicted, and was forced to flee ignominiously. His first easy success, however, produced a bad effect, for Edward, who probably would have let Scotland alone, now gathered an army, and calling it a rebellious territory, resolved to invade and resubdue it. This host marched on to besiege Berwick, and was met by a Scottish army at Halidon Hill. The English were then in the very flush of their victories over the French, accomplished chiefly by the aid of the stout archers furnished by the yeomen or free peasantry. These men were extremely skilful in the use of their weapon; and the leaders of the Scots should have remembered the feats they had performed abroad, and taken precautions accordingly, but they had not an officer sagacious enough to do so.

In his drama of Halidon Hill, Sir Walter Scott makes an old soldier of Bruce's say,

Bruce had bidden ye  
Review your battle-order, marshall'd broadly  
Here on the bare hill-side, and bidden you mark  
Yon clouds of Southern archers, bearing down  
To the green meadow-lands which stretch beneath—  
The Bruce had warn'd you, not a shaft to-day  
But shall find mark within a Scottish bosom,  
If thus our field be order'd. The callow boys,  
Who draw but four-foot bows, shall gall our front,  
While on our mainward, and upon the rear,  
The cloth-yard shafts shall fall like death's own darts,  
And, though blind men discharge them, find a mark.  
Thus shall we die the death of slaughter'd deer,  
Which, driven into the toils, are shot at ease  
By boys and women, while they toss aloft,  
All idly and in vain, their branchy horns,  
As we shall shake our unavailing spears.

This was an accurate picture of the result. The English archers in an inaccessible marsh poured a murderous volley of

arrows among the Scots, and slew them in great numbers. The defeat was rendered complete when their thinned and broken ranks were charged by the English cavalry. It now seemed as if all that had been lost at Bannockburn were regained to Edward. The country was immediately overrun, and most of its places of strength seized almost without resistance. In a conference held at Edinburgh, a great part of the south of Scotland, including Jedburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Dumfries, Haddington, and Linlithgow—indeed the whole country south of the Forth—was given over entirely to the English king, to be incorporated with England, and governed by the parliament and laws of that country. The remainder of Scotland was to be held by Baliol as the vassal of Edward.

9. Still a few strongholds held out for David Bruce. Among these Lochleven, renowned afterwards as the prison of Queen Mary, was celebrated for the resistance it offered. Tradition says, that the besiegers tried to inundate the castle by making a strong boom or dam across the river, which flows out of the loch; and that the garrison sailed down upon the dam at night and destroyed it, so that the waters rushing out overwhelmed the besiegers. Kildrummie Castle also held out for the Scottish king, and was defended by a garrison under the command of the young king's aunt. Though situated in a very remote glen among the mountains of the north-western part of Aberdeenshire, its ruins show that it must have then been a place of great extent and importance. The English commander who went to besiege it, bore singularly enough the Scottish title of Earl of Atholl, being a Norman knight named Hastings. As he was passing through the wild mountains of the Deeside Highlands to approach the castle, the regent Sir Andrew Murray was led by a secret path through the mountain defiles, so as to take the besiegers by surprise. Thus was fought the battle of Colbleen, in which Atholl's English forces were defeated. Kildrummie was not the only fortress defended by a female. About 150 miles southwards, the castle of Dunbar, of which the ruins may yet be seen on some rocks in Haddingtonshire, was defended by the Countess of March, a daughter of the regent Randolph, who acquired the familiar name of "Black Agnes of Dunbar." The castle was blockaded in vain for nearly five months by an army under the command of the Earl of Salisbury. Many ludicrous incidents have been commemorated of this siege. Among others was the destruction of a sort of fortification of wood, compared to a sow, which had been brought forward to protect the men while battering the gate, but which was smashed

to pieces by letting a mass of stones fall on it from the battlements.

10. An alliance which had a marked effect on the history of Scotland now began. The English king was pursuing his course of conquests in France, and nothing could be of more importance to the French than that he should have a brave and independent nation to contend with near home, instead of increasing his dominions and power by adding Scotland to England. Accordingly from that time onwards till the downfall of Queen Mary, the French became the allies and supporters of the Scots, and Scotland, as we shall see, followed French manners and ideas, so far as they could be adopted by a poor and free people. The young king sought refuge in France, and some French troops were sent over, who, if not quite so hardy as the native combatants, could teach them many valuable lessons, especially on the defence and attack of fortified places. On the other hand, many Scotsmen took service in France, and proud and poor went from their barren hills to enjoy the ample luxuries of a court to which their strength, courage, and inexhaustible endurance of hardship were of infinite advantage. After the fatal battle of Agincourt, a body of Scotsmen defeated the English troops when the French gave way in every conflict, and their commander, bearing the name of the Earl of Buchan, was made constable of France. The French monarchs at last surrounded themselves by a Scottish guard, who possessed many privileges and immunities, and are frequently mentioned with great honour by the French historians. Thus, when that crafty King of France, Louis XI., was laying siege to the town of Liège along with the Burgundians, who were nearly as much his enemies as those he was directly fighting against, he surrounded himself with his Scottish guard, on whom alone he could trust; and his biographer, Philip of Comines, observes, that "These Scottish troops behaved themselves valiantly, maintained their ground, would not stir one step from the king, and were very nimble with their bows and arrows, with which it is said they killed more of the Burgundians than of the enemy." Sir Walter Scott has drawn a most vivid and interesting picture of the connexion between France and Scotland in his novel of *Quentin Durward*.

By the perseverance of the inhabitants, and in some measure with the aid of their allies, Scotland was gradually recovered from the invaders. One fortress after another was taken, and Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale, got possession of Edinburgh Castle by an able use of courage and stratagem. The coun-

try was so far relieved in the spring of 1341, that it was deemed safe for the young king and queen to return from France, and a truce was soon after established. It was indeed a fortunate thing for Scotland that Edward III. was more bent on extending the boundaries of his continental dominions than on subduing the northern portions of the island: the one offered immediate advantages, the other could only be attained by sacrifices which might endanger his French conquests.

11. It would have been well for David had he been content to see his kingdom thus at rest; but he must needs make an inroad into England, believing that it was quite defenceless owing to the number of troops engaged with Edward in the siege of Calais. A marauding army was thus led by the young king into the county of Durham. England was then under the regency of Philippa, the heroic wife of Edward—celebrated in history by her intercession for the lives of the burgesses of Calais, condemned to death when that city was taken. She concerted vigorous measures against the invaders. They had imitated too well the conduct of the English in Scotland, plundering and destroying, so that their track was marked by devastated fields and smoking villages. That part of England was full of churchmen and ecclesiastical property, and indignation was especially roused against the Scots by their not sparing the most sacred things. The English army, chiefly consisting of such of the northern barons as were left in the country with their followers, adopted a sort of religious character, and before it was borne a crucifix with many consecrated banners and pennons waving round it. The two armies met at Neville's Cross near Durham; the Scots being 17th Oct. } commanded by the king, the Knight of Liddesdale, 1346. } the Steward of Scotland, and the Earl of Dunbar. The superiority of the English archers was again fatally manifested. Sir John Graham recommended that, as at Bannockburn, they should be charged and broken through with cavalry, but the advice was not followed. After a hard contest of many hours, the Scots were defeated with immense slaughter. The young king, though he seems to have possessed little generalship, showed great courage. After being pierced by two arrows, he continued to fight desperately for the preservation of his freedom, but was at last taken prisoner by an English knight named Copland, who had, however, to bear considerable marks of his prowess.

12. King David was childless, and his sister, the daughter of the renowned King Robert, had married the High Steward of Scotland. This important officer was thus nearly allied to the

crown, and had a considerable interest in its fate. He led off a portion of the Scottish army unbroken from the fatal field of Neville's Cross, and for this act he has been often accused of treachery to his sovereign, whom it is said he ought at all hazards to have attempted to rescue. He was immediately appointed regent, but whether he had this selfish end in view or not, the preservation of but a part of the army was of great importance to his country.

The English now invaded Scotland. They took Roxburgh Castle and overran the border counties. The chief protection of the Scots was at that time actually in their misery. They had been so impoverished by wars, and their fields were so neglected, that when the inhabitants fled and took with them what little provender and other possessions they could carry, there was nothing left behind, and the invaders starved on the scene of their barren conquests. To show that he intended to assert the old claims on Scotland with a high hand, Edward caused two of the most eminent captives at Neville's Cross, the Earls of Monteith and Fife, to be tried on a charge of high-treason for having made war against him their liege lord. The former was executed, and the quarters of his body were like those of the illustrious Wallace dispersed in several places to be a standing mark of terror to the inhabitants. At the same time many seizures of ecclesiastical property and estates were made in Scotland to enable Edward to fit out an army. His poverty was probably at that time the safety of the country. Could he have overrun it with a host as great as that which Edward II. brought to Bannockburn, possibly the independence of Scotland might have been irretrievably lost; but the commons of England were jealous of expensive wars, which did them no good, and only served to increase the power and feed the ambition of their king. That Edward was prepared for a very resolute attempt on Scotland was evident from his conduct to Baliol, for he determined that this puppet should no longer even represent the King of Scotland, and by giving him a large pension bought from him his right or claim of sovereignty. At the same time, there is no doubt that he tampered cruelly with the imprisoned king, and succeeded so far, that David, under the depression and danger of captivity, engaged to do him homage.

13. In the meantime many conflicts of secondary importance took place. The town of Berwick was successfully attacked by the Scots, and when in possession of it, they made a desperate attempt also to take the castle. On this, Edward himself came over with the troops with which he had gained

the glorious victory of Crecy, and drove the Scots from their conquest. He now re-entered the country with a strong force. The Scots again adopted the policy of retreating and letting the enemy starve on the impoverished country. Had Edward been well supplied with money, this plan would not have succeeded, but as he depended in great measure on Scotland to feed his troops, it was eminently successful. His difficulties were brought to a climax by the dispersal of his fleet, from which he expected at least a partial supply. When the main body sent out foraging parties into the districts where they held military possession, they were cut off by the Scots as they entered the mountain-passes. At length winter came on, and the army, which had not seen an enemy, was as wretched as if it had been attacked and beaten. It was now necessary to withdraw it, and it was equally necessary for the King of England to come to some understanding with the Scots, which might give him quietness at home and leave him free to pursue his designs on France. As far back as 1351 Edward had opened negotiations with the Scots for the liberation of their king, but the ransom he demanded was extravagantly high; three years later more favourable terms were proposed, but rejected at the instigation of the French. After the battle of Poitiers in 1356 the Scots were again willing to treat for the release of their sovereign, and in the following year David recovered his liberty. A ransom of a hundred thousand pounds was agreed upon—an enormous tax on the limited resources of the people.

The country had indeed been impoverished and in every-way demoralized by these long miserable wars. There is reason to believe that even the highest classes were during that period in a signally degraded state, and the common people are said to have been so far dehumanized as to have had recourse in their misery to cannibalism. The plague came with other calamities to add to the general distress and confusion. One incident has served to show how feeble the romantic laws of chivalry were to counteract the effects of these evils. Two of the first champions of the age were Douglas, the knight of Liddesdale, and Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, called the flower of chivalry, and they were sworn friends and fellow-soldiers. Ramsay having taken the castle of Roxburgh, the young king bestowed on him the sheriffdom of the district of country in which it was placed. Douglas, who considered that nobody but himself should hold that office, was roused to fury, and treacherously seizing Ramsay, carried him off to his lone castle of Hermitage, where he was literally starved to death.

David did not long survive his restoration to freedom. He died on 22d February 1371.

## EXERCISES.

1. What event destroyed the hope of England and Scotland becoming a united kingdom? How many competitors were there for the throne? What claims had the principal ones? To whom was the dispute referred? What use did he make of the opportunity?

2. What incident gave Edward an excuse for invasion? What was the result of the invasion? Describe the state of feeling in which the common people of the country were placed by it.

3. What popular champion came forward? How did the Norman aristocracy act towards him? What occurred near Falkirk? What great plan did Edward pursue for the subjugation of the country? Who was specially excluded from his indemnity? What was the fate of Wallace? Give some instances of the opinion entertained of him by his countrymen.

4. Who were concocting a plan for rescuing the country? Give an account of the tragedy which occurred in a church in Dumfries. What resolution did Bruce's position compel him to adopt? What opponents had he to contend with? What induced King Edward to return? Give an illustration of his hatred of Scotland.

5. What was the character of Edward II.? What resolution did he adopt? Give some account of the size and nature of the two armies. Describe the battle of Bannockburn. What was the character of Robert the Bruce's reign? What took place as to his remains?

6. Who succeeded Robert the Bruce? Give an account of Thomas Randolph? How did he attempt to preserve order? Mention an incident connected with these efforts.

7. What dangers appeared during the regency? Give an account of the state of matters which gave many of the English nobility an interest to invade Scotland. What sort of army did they make? What did they accomplish in Perthshire?

8. Give an account of the state of Scotland after the battle of Dupplin. Where was Baliol surprised? Give an account of the battle of Halidon Hill. What were the prospects of Scotland after this battle? What was done at a conference in Edinburgh?

9. What occurred at Lochleven? What other castle held out? Describe the battle at Colbleen. Give an account of the siege and defence of Dunbar.

10. What alliance had a marked effect on the fate of Scotland? Give an account of the origin and progress of the alliance. What occurred after the battle of Agincourt? What military body of Scotsmen was formed abroad? What occurred in Scotland in the meantime?

11. What rash project did David undertake? How were measures taken to oppose him? Give an account of the battle of Neville's Cross. What calamitous result arose from it?

12. What was the position of the High Steward? What was he charged with? Give an account of the invasion of Scotland and the conduct of the English king. How did he deal with Baliol?

13. What took place at Berwick? What policy was adopted towards the invaders? What was its effect? What treaty was negotiated? Describe the state of Scotland.



## CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE STEWARTS TO THE DEATH OF  
JAMES V., A. D. 1371—1542.

Robert II.—Invasion by the English—The Scots receive Assistance from France—Battle of Otterburn—Robert III.—Border Warfare—The Highlanders—Murder of the Duke of Rothesay—James I.—Battle of Harlaw—The King's Imprisonment in England—His Murder at Perth—James II.—The Douglasses—The King killed at the Siege of Roxburgh Castle—James III.—Rebellion of his Nobles, and Execution of his Favourites—His Murder near Stirling—James IV.—Battle of Flodden—James V.—Feuds of the Nobility—War with England—The King's Death.

1. ROBERT II.—It has already been stated that the eldest daughter of Robert the Bruce had married a nobleman who held the office of High Steward of Scotland. In consultation with the States of the Kingdom, the great King Robert had arranged that this daughter's family should succeed to the throne on the failure of his own male descendants, and thus it was that David was succeeded by his nephew Robert, the son of the high steward. The office was converted into a family name, and this Robert was the first king of the Stuart dynasty, so famous both in Scottish and in English history. It may here be observed that the name is spelt in at least two ways—Stewart and Stuart. In former times the spelling of words was very irregular, and a man often wrote his own name in many different ways. Stewart, however, is the form that was most generally adopted until Queen Mary went to France, and after that it became fashionable to employ the other spelling, Stuart, in use among the French, whose alphabet did not contain the letter *w*.

Robert II. was a quiet retired man, who meddled little with war or state affairs. He did not succeed his uncle without opposition; for the head of the Douglas family, now rapidly rising in influence, threatened to compete with him for the throne, but on farther consideration withdrew his claim. During his reign the country was frequently harassed and threatened by England; but it never ran the same risk of subjection that it had incurred in the reign of David. In fact the two countries had now become completely severed, for they had been a hundred years at war. There was no

longer any danger of Norman knights who held property in Scotland siding with the English king, for by this time every one was either a Scotsman or an Englishman; and the inhabitants of Scotland were prepared to suffer any hardship or calamity rather than come under the rule of an invader. Early in the reign of Robert, a large army, sent by Richard II. of England, under his uncle Lancaster, invaded the country. The policy of retreating before it was again adopted, and the host found itself helpless and starving, while the Scots perpetually harassed them in detail. They burned the abbeys of Melrose and Dryburgh, and destroyed Edinburgh; but all this mere mischief was of little avail while they could not bring the people under their authority. But the Scots on this occasion resolved to carry their new system of warfare a step farther. While they left their own fields uncultivated and as bare as possible to the invaders, they projected an incursion into England, then comparatively unprotected, under the command of Douglas, and with a body of French auxiliaries under the chivalrous John de Vienne. This method of retaliation was repeated several times during the reign of Robert II. Now it will be observed that while Scotland had been rendered poor and miserable by constant invasions, there were few parts of England on which a hostile army had appeared for centuries. The lands were highly cultivated, and rich in farm-yards and fat cattle. A great portion of the landed property had been given over to churchmen, who were very industrious, and surrounded themselves with all the objects of peaceful wealth. Into the middle of such scenes would rush the host of Scots—hungry, hardy, and burning to revenge the injuries heaped on their own country. By this method of warfare the poor nation had a great advantage over the rich. The mail-clad English warriors on their large well-fed horses found nothing but sterility and hard blows, while their poorer enemies found abundance and riches, and could come back laden with plunder. Even when a formidable force was preparing to overwhelm them, they could disperse and reach their homes with a considerable quantity of booty before they were attacked.

2. In the meantime some characteristic jealousies grew up between the Scots and their French allies. The King of France had sent over John de Vienne, holding the high office of Admiral of France, with a thousand mail-clad knights and their followers to assist the Scots in the conflict with the English. Now the French, while inferior to the English in hardiness and military discipline, were far more luxurious in their houses, dress, and food—indeed it was the extent to which

they carried luxury and display that enervated them. Moreover, the aristocracy, who thus lived in grandeur and enjoyment, were becoming completely severed from the lower classes, who lived in the utmost penury and misery, and were treated with invariable harshness and contempt as the most abject slaves. When the brilliant knights of France saw so much poverty about them as they met with in Scotland, they naturally compared the people with their own, and behaved haughtily and insolently towards them. But the Scots, though poor, were far from being slaves, and could not easily submit to contumely even from their allies. At the same time these haughty foreign soldiers seemed to think that everything belonging to the common people was at their disposal, just as it was in France, and they lived at free quarters and foraged where they chose, venting their contempt at the same time for the poor living the country afforded to them. The chronicler Froissart, their countryman, describes in this way the manner in which the Scots addressed them: "What evil spirit hath brought you here? Who sent for you? Cannot we maintain our war with England without your help? Pack up your goods and be gone, for no good will be done as long as ye are here. We neither understand you nor you us. We cannot communicate together, and in a short time we shall be completely rifled and eaten up by such troops of locusts. What signifies a war with England? The English never occasioned such mischief as ye do. They burned our houses it is true, but that was all; and with four or five stakes and plenty of green boughs to cover them, they were rebuilt almost as soon as they were destroyed." From their unpleasant experience on this occasion, the French learned that the best way of helping the Scots against the English was not by sending them warriors of whom they had an abundance out of which they could well spare troops to France, but to send them arms and money.

The sort of war carried on between the English and the Scots during this reign was naturally accompanied by many acts of individual courage and adventure. The chief leaders on both sides, especially those on the borders, loved to encounter each other and try their own prowess and that of their followers. On one of these occasions the Percies of Northumberland, the flower of English chivalry, met at a place called Otterburn with the Douglasses, whose name was equally high in Scotland. A sanguinary battle ensued, in which much noble blood was shed, and which is supposed to be commemorated in the popular ballad of Chevy Chase.

3. **ROBERT III.**—King Robert died in the year 1390, and was succeeded by his eldest son John, whose name was unfamiliar to the people, or only connected with disaster. Accordingly, with the consent of the estates, he adopted the more popular title of Robert III. Scotland was now materially different from what it had been at the accession of Robert I. That able monarch had made himself the only king in Scotland, and kept down the power of the nobility. But the constant wars with England—especially those which consisted in plundering excursions—gave great strength to the military leaders throughout the country. The Douglasses especially, having the chief command of all inroads on England, and the task of protecting the border, became every day more powerful, from the number of men under their orders, the territories they acquired, and the castles they built. This building of castles became a common practice throughout the country. In every well regulated state there can be no fortification but what is held by the supreme governing power for the public good. It would be considered a strange event if Fort-George or Edinburgh Castle were to be held by any individual, and the garrison, cannon, and ammunition used by him for his own private purposes. But Scotland became full of fortifications, large and small, many of the remains of which may still be seen. The great nobles built immense ranges of towers and halls, such as Tantallan, Bothwell, or Craigmillar. These not only had draw-wells and granaries to provide the garrison when they were besieged, but generally private chapels or churches where they could attend divine worship. The smaller landholders or chiefs built mere square towers, which would only accommodate a very few marksmen shooting from the walls with bows or large blunderbusses. They had very thick walls with scarcely any windows. The entrance was protected not only by an oaken door, but by a heavy iron grating, and the battlements projected above in such a manner that boiling pitch or lead might be dropped upon the assailants. Such old towers are still very common throughout Scotland, and there is one even so near the metropolis as Liberton, and another at Colinton. These were naturally most frequent on the border, where they served to protect the marauders from the vengeance of the English after they had made an inroad on Cumberland or Durham, and come back with cattle and grain to feed their hungry followers.

4. Though these inroads were at first connected, as we have seen, with national warfare, in the end they came to be so much a practice that each head of a border clan looked after himself

and his followers only, and went on a foray, as it was called, whenever their wants or a good opportunity suggested it. Nor were they always punctilious in confining their incursions to the border counties of England. Having got once into the tempting practice of living on the fruit of other people's industry instead of being industrious themselves, they exercised it wherever there was a temptation, and sometimes a Merse or Haddington laird would find that on a moonlight night his byres and farm-yard had been cleared out. As Sir Walter Scott writes of these gentry,

They stole the beeves that made their broth  
From England and from Scotland both.

It was said that when all the produce of the last foray had been exhausted, the master of the house when he came in to dinner would sometimes find a pair of spurs laid by his wife on the dish instead of food, as a hint that he must ride forth and lay in more provisions. A ludicrous tradition about this border system has been the source of a very popular ballad. The story goes that a handsome young man—Scott of Harden—made a foray on the lands of the Murrays of Elibank, and being seized in the act, was about to be immediately hanged. The wife of the enraged Murray, however, represented to her husband that it was a pity to waste the life of a fine young fellow who was well connected and possessed a good estate, while they had a daughter whose extreme homeliness made it unlikely that she would ever be solicited in marriage. Scott was offered the alternative of being immediately hanged, or of being wedded to the damsel, who from the extent of her mouth was called Muckle-mou'd Meg, and he chose the latter. The story, in conclusion, represents her as having made a very amiable and exemplary wife. Such a state of things not only created much resistance to the government, but many deadly quarrels between different families, and these were transmitted from generation to generation, each avenging the injuries it had received from the others.

Another cause of disturbance arose from the Celtic people or Highlanders, who occupied a considerable portion of the mountainous districts of the West and North, where their descendants may still be found,—a peculiar people, speaking a language distinct from that of the other parts of Scotland. If they had adhered to each other as a separate state they might have preserved their independence, but they now divided themselves into factions or clans, instead of making common cause against the king of the Saxon inhabitants of

Lowland Scotland. One of the most barbarous exhibitions ever seen in any civilized country took place on the North Inch of Perth, in the year 1396, when sixty combatants appeared, thirty from each side, to settle the great dispute for superiority in the Highlands. Robert III. encouraged this conflict, more like the onsets of the Roman gladiators than the warlike efforts of later times; and he did so because, whichever party was victorious, it would weaken the Highlanders, who were the chief difficulty in the government of Scotland. Their power, however, was not completely extinguished by this politic invention, as we shall hereafter see.

5. The incidents in the reign of Robert the Third are more of a melancholy than of a brilliant nature. His eldest son, the Duke of Rothesay, was naturally reckless and dissipated, and in such an unruly age he had every opportunity of indulging in pleasures and vices of the wildest kind. The king himself was a man of rather weak disposition, and too much under the influence of his brother, the Duke of Albany. This prince, in furtherance of some ambitious project which he had in view, resolved to get rid of the heir to the throne. A deep mystery hangs over the details of the horrid business, but there is no doubt that the young man was murdered. Under some excuse, Albany got him imprisoned in the castle of Falkland. The method adopted for destroying his life is said to have been the cruel one of starvation—immuring him in a dungeon and leaving him there unnoticed. It is related that a poor woman connected with the castle found out what was going on, and endeavoured at the risk of her own life stealthily to supply him with small morsels of food, but that she was discovered, and her efforts did no more than protract for a short time his miserable existence.

There was little direct war between Scotland and England during this reign; but Lord Douglas, who was waxing in pride and power, crossed the border like a king with an army of ten thousand men. They were defeated by the English archers under the Percies at Homildon Hill. This conflict must not be confounded with the more important battle of Halidon Hill already mentioned. Douglas was wounded and taken prisoner. When the Percies subsequently raised a civil war against Henry IV., they obtained the aid of Douglas in return for his liberation, and he fought at the celebrated battle of Shrewsbury. After the murder of the Duke of Rothesay, the king had still a son, James, about eleven years old. Fearful probably that he might share the fate of his brother, he sent him across the sea to be under the protection of his

ally, the King of France. But this was only leaving one danger to incur another. He was seized by an English vessel and taken to London, when Henry IV. resolved not to part with so valuable a prisoner. Sinking under the weight of his misfortunes, the old king died in the spring of 1406.

6. JAMES I.—The Duke of Albany, who had substantially exercised the chief power, now became regent of the kingdom. From what has been seen of his conduct, it will naturally be inferred that he was a cruel, heartless, selfish man. He might have been more popular with the rude barons of the age if he had been more warlike. He had, however, considerable sagacity and great vigilance, and it is wonderful how, by means of these qualities, he managed to keep such a turbulent set in order, even when they knew that he owed his power to crime and usurpation.

HARLAW.—The Highlanders at this period made a last attempt to establish their separate independence, and even threatened to overrun Scotland. A large army, under the command of the Lord of the Isles, as he has generally been called, passed through Inverness towards Aberdeen. The country gentlemen of Scotland and the Lowland burghers were alarmed lest the kingdom should be subjugated by the chief of the tribes who lived in the distant wilds of the Highlands and Western Isles, and great efforts were made to bring together a sufficient army. Many of the magistrates of the Scottish burghs, along with the Lowland gentry, signalized  
14th July } themselves in the battle which ensued at Harlaw,  
1411. } near the hill of Benochie, in Aberdeenshire. The Highlanders were far more numerous than their opponents, but they were routed with great slaughter, the Lowlanders being much better equipped and disciplined.

As Henry IV. of England could at any time check the conduct of the regent by threatening to release the king, Albany adopted a very ingenious method of balancing this power. Richard II. of England, according to the usual belief, had been murdered to make the throne secure for Henry; but a deep mystery shrouded his fate. In these circumstances, the regent kept an individual at his court, who, he said, was Richard II., seeking shelter in Scotland from the usurper of the throne. He thus possessed the means of retaliating any annoyance which Henry might give him, for the English king would scarcely like to deny that Richard was alive by proving that he had been murdered. Albany died in the year 1419, far advanced in years. He was succeeded in the regency by his son Murdoch, who might have secured the crown for himself

had he been a man of ability, but he was weak and indolent. He had two licentious sons, who became so turbulent and so insolent that to protect himself from their violence he sought the restoration of the king.

7. King James's history was altogether a romantic one. He had been a prisoner for more than twenty years; and although treated all the while with as much courtesy as consisted with his safe custody, he longed for freedom, and was ambitious of assuming the rank and power to which he knew that he was born. His prison hours were employed in enriching his mind and studying what passed around him. He early showed a genius for poetry, and has given a very pleasing account of the growth of his attachment to Joanna Beaufort. He chanced one day to be looking out of his window in the great tower of Windsor Castle, while that lady, whom he then saw for the first time, was walking in the garden below. The charms of her person and the gentleness of her character won his heart, and after his return to Scotland he made her his wife. If we modernize the spelling a little, his lines will look very like the poetry of the present day; and it will be seen from the following extract, where he describes the garden in which he saw the lady, that they contain a great deal of taste and simple beauty, such as one would hardly expect to be developed by a man of stern purpose living in those wild times.

Now was there made, fast by the tower's wall,  
A garden fair, and in each corner set  
An arbour green with wands long and small  
Railed about. And so with trees set  
Was all the place, and hawthorn hedges knit,  
That lyf was none walking there foreby  
That might within scarce any wight espy.

So thick the boughs and the leaves green  
Beshaded all the alleys that were there,  
And midst of every arbour might be seen  
The sharp green sweet juniper,  
Growing so fair with branches here and there,  
That as it seemed to a person without  
The boughs spread the arbour all about.

And on the small green branches sat  
The little sweet nightingale, and sang  
So loud and clear the hymns consecrate  
To lover's use, now soft, now loud among  
That all the gardens, and the walls rung  
Right of their song, and on the couple next  
Of their sweet harmony—and lo, the text.

Worship ye that lovers be this May,  
For of your bliss the calends are begun,



And sing with us—away, winter, away;  
Come, summer, come—the sweet season and sun.

8. We should hardly expect to find the author of these pleasing lines a cruel and severe king, but such was in a great measure the character of James. Though it was mainly owing to Albany's intervention that he was restored, he brought that prince to trial for his conduct in the regency, and he was executed with his two sons at Stirling within sight of the towers of his magnificent castle at Doune. James had enjoyed many opportunities of studying the political system of England, and he thought it should be introduced as far as might be practicable into Scotland. In his reign the Commons began to have a voice in parliament by their representatives, who sat along with the aristocracy. The legal history of Scotland may be said to begin with this sovereign, for the oldest acts of parliament acknowledged as laws are those of James I.

King James, while he encouraged the humbler classes, became so offensive to his nobility by the strictness with which he ruled them, preventing them from tyrannizing over their vassals, that a few of them, with the Earl of Atholl at their head, resolved to put him to death. He had gone to Perth to enjoy the festivities of the new year, in the Blackfriars monastery at that city. The conspirators attacked the building at a moment when, in unconscious security, the king was talking with his familiar friends before retiring to bed. The incident was rendered interesting by the heroism of a young lady, Catherine Douglas, who, as there was no bolt in the door by which the murderers were approaching, and the bar had been removed, thrust her arm into the staple, and endured the battering of the assailants until the bone was broken. The 20th Feb. } king hid himself, in the meantime, in a vault beneath  
1437. } the chamber. He might have escaped through that vault, as it had an opening to the court-yard of the building; but by a singular fatality he had caused the opening to be filled up the day before, because when he played at tennis the balls sometimes fell into it. The conspirators searched long for him, and were about to retire, believing that he had escaped, when one of them bethought him of this vault. Though quite unarmed, he defended himself with great resolution, and he fell pierced by twenty-eight wounds. That a gang of ruffians should have entered the king's chamber without creating any alarm, shows how poorly even monarchs were guarded in those days.

9. JAMES II., a young lad, now succeeded to the throne. The widowed queen, resolved to be revenged on her husband's murderers, pursued them with such untiring vigilance, that

though they hid themselves in the far recesses of the Highlands, they were nearly all apprehended and brought to trial. They were executed after being subjected to horrible tortures, which were invented for the occasion.

The reigns of the Stewart kings who follow James I. are conspicuous for the lawless state of the nobility, the deadly feudal animosities, and the murderous crimes to which these evils gave rise. A favourite means by which the aristocracy of this period acquired influence was kidnapping the person of the king, if he happened to be a minor. James II. was twice carried off in this manner, and on one of the occasions he was enclosed in a chest. There was a want of sufficient strength either in the crown or in the popular representative institutions to control the power of the great landowners, who were like kings within their own dominions. The Douglasses especially lorded it over nearly half of Scotland. The followers of these proud nobles were so protected by them, and encouraged in all sorts of insolence and rapacity, that it became a saying that no man dare strive with a Douglas or a Douglas's man. The treacherous methods adopted to control this license only showed the miserable weakness of the government. The two chief ministers were Livingston, who was the guardian of the king's person, and Crichton, the chancellor of the kingdom. These two statesmen, especially the latter, tried to raise a power sufficient to cope with the house of Douglas. Of Crichton's wealth and magnificence, a specimen may be seen in the beautiful castle which he built on the banks of the Scottish Tyne about twelve miles from Edinburgh. To get the better of the Douglasses, this man, who as the head of the law should have been an example to others, resolved to commit a gross crime. He professed extreme friendship towards the Earl of Douglas and his brother, and induced them to accompany him in a visit to the young king in Edinburgh Castle. At dinner the head of a black bull was served up to the two guests. It seems that this was the sign by which hatred only to be extinguished by blood was exhibited in those barbarous times. The Douglasses, knowing the fate prepared for them, started up, but were immediately seized and bound, and after the pretence of a trial were executed, notwithstanding the tears of the young king, who was naturally shocked by such an instance of treachery combined with cruelty.

10. But this act, like many other crimes, was far from accomplishing its object. After a short interval, the house of Douglas was represented by a man as able, bold, and unscrupulous.

pulous as any of his predecessors, and the slaughter of his ancestors added to his popularity, which was still further increased by a successful war with the English. This Earl William acquired a degree of power which seriously threatened the throne. His acts of defiance to the king, and of oppression over those who opposed him, were innumerable. Like a monarch he formed an alliance with two other great noblemen—the Earls of Ross and Crawford. They were to raise and unite their followers, who would form an army more numerous than the forces which the king could bring against them. Douglas, in furtherance of this league, ordered all his own retainers to assemble round his banner. One of them, however, called Maclellan, or the Tutor of Bomby, refused to join the muster. He was immediately seized and imprisoned by the tyrannical earl, and it was easy to calculate on the fate that awaited him. Sir Patrick Grey, his uncle, held a high office near the king's person, and obtained a letter from his master peremptorily ordering Douglas to release his prisoner. To prevent all possibility of mistake, Grey carried the letter himself. Earl William professed to receive it and his sovereign's message with all courtesy and humility. He desired, however, before he entered on so important a business as the perusal of a king's letter, that Grey should partake with him of the hospitality of his house. In fact, guessing what the letter was about, he had his prisoner put to death before it was opened. He then told Grey that it grieved him sorely to find that it was not practicable for him to give full effect to the command of his sovereign expressed in a letter so unexpectedly gracious; and then, taking Grey to see where the beheaded body of his kinsman lay, he said, with savage sarcasm, "Yonder, Sir Patrick, lies your sister's son. Unfortunately he wants the head—but you are welcome to do with the body what you please." Grey said little till he had got outside the wall and was mounted on his horse, when he shook his mailed fist at Douglas, and denounced him as a traitor, a coward, and a disgrace to knight-hood, declaring that he would not rest till he was brought to punishment. The earl, astounded by such unusual expressions, ordered an instant pursuit, and Grey made a narrow escape. This incident evidently suggested to Sir Walter Scott the spirited scene in *Marmion*, where he defies Douglas at Tantallan gate:—

On the earl's cheek the flush of rage  
O'ercame the ashen hue of age.  
Fierce he broke forth:—"And darest thou then  
To beard the lion in his den,

The Douglas in his hall;  
 And hopest thou hence unscathed to go?  
 No, by St Bride of Bothwell—no;  
 Up drawbridge, grooms—what, warder, ho!  
 Let the portcullis fall.”  
 Lord Marmion turned—well was his need!  
 And dashed the rowels in his steed,  
 Like arrow through the archway sprung;  
 The ponderous gate behind him rung;  
 To pass there was such scanty room,  
 The bars descending razed his plume.

11. The king was highly indignant—not so much probably on account of the death of Maclellan, as at the formidable character of the new alliance. In the scene that followed, it is still unknown whether he acted from any deep treacherous design or under ungovernable passion. He invited Douglas to a friendly conference. It may well be supposed that the great chief would be unwilling to trust himself within any of the royal fortresses. He got so many assurances of safe conduct, however, that at last he agreed to visit the king in Stirling, accompanied only by a small retinue. All was feasting and cordiality for a time; and on the second day of the visit, after supper, the king and Douglas retired from the great banquetting room to a small chamber, which may still be seen in Stirling Castle. High words passed between them. The king was heard strongly urging Douglas to “break the band,” meaning the bond or league, with Ross and Crawford. Douglas continuing obstinate, the king exclaimed, “False traitor—if thou wilt not break the band, this shall,”—and he immediately plunged a dagger into his guest’s throat.

13th Feb. }  
 1452. } Sir Patrick Grey, who was not far off, rushed on, and with right good will felled his enemy with an axe. Thus perished the powerful head of the Douglasses, whether from cold-blooded treachery or unpremeditated violence it is impossible now to decide.

The astounding news of this crime came to the murdered man’s four brothers, who had attended him to the town of Stirling with his other followers. They were themselves the owners of great estates and with a large following of men. They chose one of their number to be the head of the house, and vowed vengeance. They pillaged and nearly destroyed the town of Stirling, compelling the king to defend himself in the castle; and it was to the strength of the fortress only that he owed his safety. Ross, Crawford, and the other nobles of less note who had joined in the alliance with the house of Douglas, were now called on to act. When they came to-

gether with their followers, they made an army with which it would have been vain for the king to contend; and wise men considered that the days of the Stewart line were numbered, and the reign of the Douglasses was to commence. A sagacious counsellor, Kennedy, the archbishop of St Andrews, recommended patience and caution to the king, appealing to the fable of the bundle of sticks, which could not be broken when all tied up together, but were easily snapped one by one. The united nobles were too strong for him; but if he waited till they became disunited, they might be defeated in detail. There were many petty conflicts between the two parties, and the army of the confederated lords was said to amount to 40,000 men. Kennedy's advice, however, turned out to be sound. The army was not united for any religious or political object, but merely through the influence of one family. The inferior leaders began to feel that even if they gained a victory it was not for themselves—it would only transfer them from one sovereign to another; while if they lost, the king would not fail to take effective vengeance on them. One by one therefore they dropped away, and the most important desertion was that of the Angus branch of the house of Douglas. Almost entirely forsaken, one of the brothers was killed, another was taken and executed, while the earl and the fourth brother fled to England. Great promises had been made to those who would desert the cause, and thus several distinguished houses acquired estates and rose on the ruins of the Douglasses. The chief of these was the house of Angus, which afterwards became nearly as great as the family from which it had sprung. Among the others who were so raised were the ducal families of Hamilton and Buccleuch, the Homes and the Hepburns.

England was at this time distracted by the civil war raging between Henry VI. and the Duke of York, afterwards Edward IV. Thinking the opportunity favourable for the recovery of the castle of Roxburgh, then held by an English garrison, the Scots resolved to besiege it decisively with a strong force. The king himself was present superintending the artillery of cannon, made with bars of iron clasped together with hoops, like the celebrated gun called Mons Meg in Edinburgh Castle. One of these pieces burst close to him and killed him. The  
 3d Aug. } siege was only the more determinedly pursued for  
 1460. } this misfortune, and the castle was at length taken and demolished, for the Scots sometimes found it better not to have fortresses too near the border, as the English were apt to get possession of and hold them.

12. JAMES III.—Again the country was governed by a mere boy, amidst all kinds of anarchy. This was a reign of more than usual uncertainty and diversity of fortune. At its commencement the family of the Boyds sprung at once to almost undisputed power, and after ruling the country for some years were as suddenly pulled down. One of them was executed, and the others were glad to seek safety in exile. When the king grew up to manhood, he was unfavourably contrasted with his brothers Albany and Mar. He was reserved, unhealthy, and timid, while they were robust, manly, and boisterous. In the words of the old chronicler, Lindsay of Pittscottie, the king "was a man who loved solitariness and desired never to hear of war;" and his brother Mar "was a fair lusty man, of a great and well proportioned stature, well faced and comlie in all his behaviour, who knew nothing but nobility. He used much hunting and hawking, with other gentlemanly exercise, and delighted also in entertaining of great and stout horses and mares, that their offspring might flourish, so that they might be served therewith in time of wars." The subsequent history of the two brothers is one of the many mysteries in the history of the Stewarts. Either they conspired against the king, or he was led to fear that they would do so. Mar was confined in Craigmillar Castle, which he never left, and it was said that he was smothered in a bath. Albany was shut up in the still stronger fortress of Edinburgh Castle. He was provided by his friends with the means of escape; and having plied his guards with liquor, put them to death, and, leaving them in his cell, let himself down from the precipice by a rope.

13. Through the many confusions of the reigns of the Stewart kings, Scotland was beginning to recover from the injuries inflicted on her by the wars with England. Arts and literature began gradually to rise. The university of St Andrews was founded in 1411, that of Glasgow in 1450, and that of Aberdeen in 1494. Besides James I. several eminent poets flourished under their dynasty, among whom were Dunbar, Henryson, Kennedy, and Gavin Douglas. Music was much cultivated, and many of the old pleasing national airs, of which the people are still so fond, are said to have been composed during the reigns of the Jameses, and some of them by James I. himself. After a long interval, in which the country was depressed by the consequences of the war of independence, architecture revived, and some stately buildings were erected. The partiality of James III. for this art, indeed, being somewhat weakly exercised, proved his ruin. He admitted Cochrane an architect into his chief favour. Against this person the nobility, who

despised art, and even letters, as menial occupations, were exasperated even to ferocity, while James, on the other hand, allowed him too complete an influence, which he did not himself use very wisely. As the king and his army were marching against England, some of the nobles held grim council about the best means of ridding themselves of Cochrane and the other favourites. Lord Gray told a story about the mice having resolved to put a bell on the cat, that they might know how to run away when she approached—but then the practical difficulty was, who would bell the cat? “I shall!” said Archibald Douglas; and thenceforth he received the name of Archibald Bell-the-cat. He set to work immediately, rudely laying hold of Cochrane. Once let loose, the ruffianism of the nobles went beyond all bounds, and Cochrane with other of the king’s friends was hanged over the bridge of 11th June }  
1488. }  
Lauder. So deeply fixed were the old prejudices against men who raised themselves by the fine arts or industry instead of the sword, that even late historians abuse this Cochrane, and speak as if he deserved death because he was an architect.

James remained for some time after this event in the hands of his insurgent nobility; and the English, taking advantage of the disputes and confusion, took the town of Berwick, which they strongly fortified and ever after retained. The boundaries of the two countries had now been permanently fixed, and therefore the new acquisition could not form naturally a part of England. It was considered a separate foreign acquisition; and the English acts of parliament did not apply to it unless they specially included Berwick-upon-Tweed. Meanwhile the discontent of the insurgent nobility was not allayed, and after a short interval they banded themselves seriously together to decide their dispute with the sword. James encountered them close to the glorious field of Bannockburn, and after a brief struggle the poor king turned and fled. His horse, taking fright, threw him, and he was severely hurt. He was taken to a miller’s cottage close at hand; and there, telling who he was, desired the presence of a priest. A woman rushed out, calling for a priest to the king, when a stranger passing by, who was shrouded in a black cloak, said, “I am a priest—bring me to him.” This person asked with great interest if the king were mortally wounded, and was told that he was likely to recover, but still that he desired the consolations of religion. Bending over him with the pretence of complying with his wishes, the man with the cloak stabbed him repeatedly till life became extinct, and then escaped. It

was never discovered who he was. An old house in which this tragedy is reported to have taken place may still be seen near Stirling.

14. JAMES IV., the son and heir of James III., a young man, was with the insurgent forces. His rebellion against his father hung ever after on his conscience, and was believed by the people to have brought all his calamities on him as judgments. The early part of his reign was distinguished in a very singular manner, by some naval victories over the English. The Scots possessed two very eminent sea-officers, Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, in Fifeshire, and Barton. Their success was so remarkable that one would then have expected Scotland and not England to become the great naval power. Sir Andrew Wood followed the career of an honourable warrior; but Barton, along with his brothers was tempted to commit acts of piracy by plundering merchant vessels, and he at last fell a sacrifice to the just indignation of the English. It is stated by Sir Walter Scott, that the vessel commanded by Barton, which was taken by Lord Thomas Howard, was the second ship of war that belonged to England, the first being built for Henry VIII., and named the Great Harry. England was early celebrated for naval architecture, and this circumstance shows what great advances the Scots had made in the same science. The reign of James IV. was not an eventful one, except at its termination; the Highlanders began to be mixed up with the other inhabitants of the country, the feuds of the nobility were rather less formidable than they had been in the preceding reigns, and the English monarchs had been so fully occupied in their own wars of the Roses, that they had little opportunity of making any decided attempts to subjugate Scotland. During this reign many improvements were made in the administration of justice, and some of the powers of the great landowners or chiefs were transferred to responsible officers, who acted as the servants of the public. The traders in towns, and the tenants who cultivated the ground were protected, and learning was encouraged. These improvements were to be attributed more to the peaceful state of the country, than to any efforts made by the king himself, or by any eminent men who flourished in his reign.

15. Prudent conscientious men began at this time to think that it would be a great advantage both to England and Scotland if the two countries could be united; but the Scots being the smaller nation, were naturally jealous of their independence, and it was not easy to see how such an event could be brought about, while there was one royal family providing



sovereigns for England, and another for Scotland. An event took place, however, which rendered a union very likely, and at all events promised to lead to a lasting peace between the two kingdoms—the marriage of the King of Scots to the eldest daughter of Henry VII.; but such hopes were not destined to be very speedily realized. James was a gallant and goodhearted but reckless prince, who thought more of his own selfwilled inclinations than of his duty to his people. No better motive than that the Queen of France appointed him, in the style of the age, her chosen knight, was one of the main reasons of his declaring war against England. With a large army—the finest ever equipped in Scotland—and the flower of his nobility, he invaded England, where Surrey, an able and experienced commander, encountered him at the hill of Flodden, near the river Till. The rashness of the Scottish king received an awful retribution. His fine army 9th Sept. } was irretrievably defeated, and he, with a vast number 1513. } of his noble followers, lay dead on the field. Edinburgh never had witnessed such a day of mourning as that which brought the news of the battle of Flodden.

Those whose function it was to be foremost in protecting the capital had fallen, and every one feared that the victorious English army would march northward and subdue the country. Preparations were made, very honourable to the citizens of Edinburgh at that time, for meeting such a danger if it had occurred. It was not, however, the policy of the English general to pursue his success any farther. He had effectually checked any aggression on the part of the Scots, and had thus done his own country good service. Many traditionary stories and poems, and among others the beautiful song of *The Flowers of the Forest*, are remembered as memorials of the woe of Scotland for those who fell at Flodden.

16. JAMES V.—The reign of this monarch was not in itself very eventful, but the nation was preparing for great changes. The Duke of Albany, a son of James the Third's brother, acted as guardian or governor of the realm during the king's minority. Though so closely connected with the Scottish throne, he had lived on his estates in France and was essentially a Frenchman, and his presence served to confirm the influence of France over Scotland. Indeed, from that time down to the reign of King James VI., French manners began to be engrafted on those of Scotland, making a grotesque mixture of rudeness and luxurious refinement. The courts of law were modelled on the French form, and in 1532 the present Court of Session was established after the model of the Parliament of Paris. The

judges of that court in Edinburgh still wear the costume which was originally prepared on the Parisian model. The civil law as used in France and the other continental states was adopted in Scotland, while England was making for itself a system of a very different kind, known as the common law. The military system followed the model of France, and commanders were occasionally brought over from that country to teach the new improvements in war. The universities took their systems of instruction from the same source. In the town councils, the term provost and bailie were taken from the old French *prevost* and *bailli*. The churches were built according to the French school of Gothic architecture, and the gentry decorated their castles with turrets like the aristocracy of Normandy and Guienne. It is even said that some of the national Scottish dishes, such as haggis and black pudding, are to be attributed to the same foreign origin.

17. In the early part of James the Fifth's reign, two great factions divided the country, each headed by noblemen nearly connected with the throne—the one by Hamilton, earl of Arran, the other by Douglas, earl of Angus, whose power was strengthened by a marriage with the widow of James IV. Besides innumerable conflicts throughout the country, they had a memorable battle in the High Street of Edinburgh, which was called "Clean the Causeway," from the fury with which the Angus faction swept the other before it off the street. The Earl of Angus re-established the power of the Douglasses nearly in its ancient grandeur. They lorded it over every one, and, as of old, no man durst question what they did: many murders and other crimes passed unpunished because their perpetrators followed the banner of Lord Angus. They held the young king a prisoner in their hands. He tried by rousing some of the other border chiefs to resistance to get out of their control; but Angus counteracted all such efforts, and kept his sovereign in close confinement. He ruthlessly told him, that he need not think to escape alive. "If our enemies held you on one side, and we on the other," he said, "we would rive you in two ere you should get off." James, however, at last laid a plot for his own liberation. The castle of Stirling was secretly prepared for his reception, while he was detained at the palace of Falkland about twenty miles distant from it. Under the pretence of a hunting expedition, he rode all night and reached Stirling in safety. There he fortified himself and excluded the Douglasses. Legal proceedings were commenced against them, their estates were forfeited, and again the power of that family was suddenly overthrown.

18. James V. considerably increased the power of the crown in Scotland by breaking down that of the nobility. He made regular war on the border chiefs, and had many of them put to death as traitors and oppressors. These proceedings took them somewhat by surprise, for they were so much accustomed to make war and peace when they pleased, and to act like independent princes, that they could not imagine they were exceeding their just powers. The fate of one of them—the celebrated Johnny Armstrong—savoured strongly of treachery. He approached the monarch with a gallant band of followers to give him an honourable reception, and was no less surprised than horrified when he was seized and condemned to death. King James was fond of pleasure, and made himself popular among the common people by occasionally mingling in their sports and going about in disguise seeking adventures. Of these many traditions are still preserved in the popular ballads of the country. He married Mary, a daughter of the French house of Guise—an event which afterwards exercised considerable influence on the destinies of Scotland. Two sons were born to him, and promised to secure a male heir to his throne, but they both died suddenly, and nearly at the same time. Renewing the war with England, he quarrelled with his nobles, and gave the command of his army to Oliver Sinclair, his favourite, whom they would not follow. The result of their mutiny was the defeat of Solway Moss. Heartbroken by the miserable jealousies and animosities of his kingdom, James became a prey to melancholy, and when he heard that a daughter had been born to him, he said, alluding to the manner in which the Stewart family succeeded to the throne, "It came with a lass, and it will go with a lass." He survived his daughter's birth only a week.

#### EXERCISES.

1. What arrangement did Robert the Bruce make for the succession? To whom did it fall? What is peculiar about the spelling of the name Stewart or Stuart? What opposition was threatened to Robert's succession? What invasion took place? What method of retaliation was adopted?
2. With whom did jealousies spring up? How were the Scottish common people different from the French? What did the Scots think of their allies? How was the alliance afterwards conducted? What sort of conflicts took place on the border?
3. What change took place in the name of the new monarch? What was the effect of the wars with England? What house rose in power? What was peculiar in the power and authority of the Scottish aristocracy? Give an account of the castles which they built.
4. What practices did the borderers get into? Where did they carry

on their incursions? Give an account of some traditions relating to this subject. What were the effects of such proceedings? Mention another cause of disturbance. Give an account of an occurrence at Perth.

5. Give an account of a tragic occurrence in the king's family. What expedition did Douglas undertake? What was its fate? How did he act in England? What was the fate of the king's second son? When did Robert III. die?

6. Who became regent of Scotland? What was Albany's character? What were its better qualities? Give an account of the battle of Harlaw. What means had Henry IV. of checking the regent? Describe the way in which Albany managed to balance this power.

7. What was the nature of King James's history? What sort of genius did he show? Give some account of his poetry. Whom did he marry?

8. What characteristics of an unexpected kind did James I. show? How did he act towards Albany and his sons? What political system did James study? What change occurred in the legislature in his reign? What improvements did he make? To whom did he become offensive? Give an account of his murder.

9. Who succeeded James I.? What did the widowed queen do? What was the character of the reigns of the Jameses? What house became overwhelmingly powerful? Who were Crichton and Livingston? What atrocity was committed to bring down the Douglasses?

10. What was the effect of the murder of the Douglasses? Give an account of Earl William. What league was entered into? Relate the circumstances in which Maclellan, the Tutor of Bomby, was put to death. How did Sir Patrick Grey act? What incident in national literature is founded on the scene?

11. What is unknown as to the proceedings which followed the slaughter of Maclellan? Give an account of the murder of Douglas in Stirling Castle. What effect had the news of this tragedy? What was the policy recommended by Kennedy? Give an account of the ruin of the Douglasses. Give an account of the death of James II., and of the circumstances under which it occurred.

12. What was the nature of James the Third's reign? What instance of revolutions of fortune took place at its commencement? With whom was the king unfavourably contrasted? What is known of the fate of his brother Mar? What became of Albany?

13. What improvements began to take place? Give the dates of the foundations of the different universities. What gave offence to the nobility? Give an account of their conduct at Lauder Bridge. What acquisition was made by England? What conduct did the discontented nobles pursue? Narrate the particulars of the king's death.

14. What disturbed the conscience of James IV.? What eminent warriors had Scotland in his reign? What is to be inferred of the progress of Scotland in shipbuilding? What improvements took place in this reign?

15. What was looked forward to as the means of conferring peace on the country? What event appeared to promise it? What foolish line of conduct did James pursue? Give an account of the battle of Flodden and its consequences.

16. What is the character of the reign of James V.? What nation's manners began to engraft themselves on those of the Scots? How were

the courts of law modelled? Give an account of other national institutions and practices derived from the French.

17. What factions disturbed the country? What battle was fought in the main street of a town? How did the Earl of Angus act? Give an account of the position of the young king, and the way in which he released himself. What was the fate of the Douglasses?

18. How did the power of the crown increase? On whom did James V. make war? What was his conduct to Armstrong? Whom did James marry? Relate the circumstances of his death.

## CHAPTER IV.

### FROM THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN MARY TO THE MURDER OF DARNLEY, A. D. 1547—1567.

The Queen-mother—Cardinal Beaton—Edinburgh burned—Battle of Ancrum Moor—Martyrdom of Wishart—Murder of the Cardinal—John Knox—The Reformation—Queen Mary—Darnley—Murder of Rizzio—Murder of Darnley.

1. THE QUEEN-MOTHER.—AFTER the many wars that had so long devastated England and Scotland, it was natural that the wise and well-meaning men of both kingdoms should wish to see them united under one sceptre. They saw that in France several independent states had thus come together, and their union had given peace and compact strength to the country. But if there were strong reasons for these continental provinces uniting themselves together in clusters, much stronger were the reasons for the whole of an island being under one system of government. The time seemed to have arrived for this union, when Scotland was the inheritance of a young queen, and the heir of England was a boy. Still, however, there were great difficulties and jealousies to be overcome, for the Scots, though poor, were a proud, stern race, fiercely jealous of their independence; and they had a feeling that they could not well be under the same monarchy with the rich kingdom of England without holding an inferior position, and being subject to slights and insults. The conduct of the King of England soon strengthened this feeling. Henry VIII. was never accustomed to be contradicted, and sacrificed everything to his tyrannical will. Determined that the alliance with his son Edward should take place, he demanded the custody of

the infant queen. This raised all the native jealousy of the Scots; and even those who had been protected and assisted by Henry refused to aid him. A large party, however, were anxious, if possible, to keep terms with the English king. These were the friends of the Reformation, who saw much prospect of disaster to their cause in the continuation of the old French alliance, and the enmity of the English monarch. Accordingly a compromise was adopted. The parliament agreed that the match should take place, but that in the meantime the young queen should remain in Scotland until she was ten years old. It was easy, however, to see that this was rather a postponement than a settlement of the question, and the more so as the Earl of Arran, who, as the nearest male relation of the queen, had been made regent of the kingdom, had become reconciled to the French party. The queen-mother naturally adhered to her own country and religion. She had for her adviser the celebrated Cardinal Beaton—a man of ability, but cruel and unscrupulous, who wished to carry every point by fraud or force. But he had to deal with one not less wicked, and far more powerful; and Henry, in a fit of exasperation, sent a fleet and army to ravage Scotland. Edinburgh was burned, and nearly destroyed, and the border counties were plundered of the necessaries of life, while many religious houses were pillaged and ruined. The English army was retiring on Jedburgh, when a band of the Scots, under the command of the young Master of Rothes, burning to avenge the unprovoked wrongs committed on their country, resolved on fighting the aggressors. The forces met at Ancrum Moor. The fierce onset of the Scots put the

A. D. } English speedily to flight, and they lost 1000 men,  
 1545. } besides captives, for the victors were too much exasperated to be merciful. These events made the projected union with England still more unpopular; and the French, taking advantage of the occasion, sent over troops, who assisted the Scots in ravaging the English border.

2. WISHART'S MARTYRDOM.—But an event soon took place which turned the balance of popularity against the French and catholic party. The reformed doctrines were then preached by a young man of persuasive eloquence and of gentle manners, called George Wishart. Beaton set about compassing his death, avowedly on account of his preaching against popery, but urged on by private reasons of his own; for he knew that Wishart was in communication with the English party, from which he expected no good offices. Wishart was tried by an ecclesiastical court, and being condemned to be burned,

he met his fate with the meek heroism of a martyr. The place in front of the proud prelate's castle of St Andrews, where he suffered, is still shown. The populace had hitherto generally adhered to the Romish church, and Wishart had so few followers, that he almost despaired of seeing his doctrines 28th Mar. } make progress; but his martyrdom, as it was felt 1545. } to be, did the cause essential service. It especially raised the people's indignation to see the cardinal lolling at his window, as if to enjoy the sufferings of his victim. Wishart looked towards him, and with a prophetic gesture called out to him that ere long he would be lying there in as much shame as he then showed pomp and vanity. So indeed it came to pass, and the people looked on the saying as a prophecy; but in reality a conspiracy for putting the cardinal to death had been for some time in progress, and the martyrdom of Wishart encouraged the conspirators to immediate action. With the Master of Rothes, who had a personal enmity to Beaton, at their head, they burst into the castle while some workmen were repairing it, and, profligate and cruel themselves, they sent the profligate and cruel cardinal to his last account, putting him to death with great ignominy. They then shut themselves up in the fortress, where they led a life of wild revelry, in defiance of the warning admonitions of John Knox, who joined their garrison. The castle, standing on a rock nearly surrounded by the sea, for five months defied the efforts of the Scottish besiegers, but some French gunners speedily reduced it, by mounting cannon on the steeples of St Andrews. The garrison were carried off captives; and it was thus that the great reformer Knox passed some time among criminals in the French galleys.

3. Henry VIII. died in the meantime, but his policy was adopted by the Duke of Somerset, the protector or guardian of the young king. Being resolved to force the match on the Scots, he crossed the border with a large army, which was met by the Scottish forces at Pinkie Cleuch, on the side of the Esk, near the old town of Musselburgh; and here again the 10th Sept. } Scots from mismanagement suffered a calamitous 1547. } defeat. Victory was, however, of no avail to the English. The queen-mother's party removed the temptation which caused these attacks, by sending the young queen to France, to be united to the dauphin, the heir to the crown of that country. On this occasion, the Earl of Arran was made Duke of Chatelherault in France. While he obtained this compliment, however, he found it necessary to transfer the office of regent to the queen-mother, who now became all-

powerful in Scotland. She soon showed a wish to have French troops brought into the country to garrison the various castles of the nobility; but they now became as much alarmed at foreign, as they formerly had been at English interference. When she asked the Earl of Angus to give up his strong castle of Tantallan, standing on a rock at the entrance of the Frith of Forth, he answered, that the castle was at her majesty's service, but he must be its captain, since no one could keep it for her so well. A bigoted catholic, commonly called bloody Mary, reigned in England; and the regent's relations at the court of France were also resolute opponents of the protestant cause. Thus supported, she altered her tone to the friends of the Reformation in Scotland, and threatened instead of encouraging them. An event, however, occurred in the year 1558, which served at once to set the protestant and catholic parties in open hostility to each other. Queen Elizabeth then succeeded to the throne. She was the daughter of Henry the Eighth's second wife, Anne Boleyn. Mary had been the daughter of his first wife, Catherine of Aragon. He had divorced her on the ground of a professed scruple of conscience, arising from her having been, at least so far as the ceremony was concerned, married to his elder brother, who died in boyhood. It is of consequence to remember these minute particulars, because events of vast moment in history arose out of them. The pope did not acknowledge the divorce; whence it was held that Anne Boleyn could not be the wife of Henry, and therefore her daughter Elizabeth could not be legitimate, and could not succeed to the crown. The question then came to be, who was the next heir? and there was no denying that it was Mary, queen of Scots, as the niece of Henry VIII. The French, of course, supported this claim: indeed they stamped coins with her name as Queen of England. Elizabeth had scarcely been a year on the throne, when Mary's young husband, Francis II., succeeded to the throne of France. Thus if they were successful in their pretensions on England, the descendants of this young couple would be kings of France, England, and Scotland.

4. JOHN KNOX.—But this increase of power alarmed the Scots nobility. Many of them became protestants, looking to Elizabeth for protection and assistance, and she very wisely encouraged that party, who were headed by James Stewart, afterwards better known as the Earl of Murray, a natural son of James the Fifth, and an able and sagacious man. The cause of the reformers was now, too, materially aided by the return of John Knox from his sojourn abroad. A collision



became inevitable, and it was hurried on by the conduct of the regent. She issued a proclamation of conformity, requiring all people to attend mass; and when taxed with breaking her promise of toleration, she quoted the odious doctrine, that "Promises ought not to be urged on princes unless they can conveniently fulfil them." But she behaved with still grosser duplicity. Having summoned the leaders of the new party to Stirling, they were proceeding thither accompanied by so large a band of followers that she became alarmed, and desired to dispense with their presence, assuring them that measures should be adopted to remedy their grievances. Having thus excused them from attending, she nevertheless outlawed them for not obeying the summons. This caused great indignation throughout the country, and excited Knox, who was then at Perth, to preach a fervent and eloquent sermon to the people against idolatry. Roused by this address, the people tore down the ornaments of the church, broke its painted windows, and then proceeded to attack in the same manner another religious house in the city. So began that destruction of ancient edifices and their ornaments which characterized the Reformation in Scotland. John Knox is reported to have said, that we must pull down the nests, and the rooks will fly away—meaning that to get rid of the Roman-catholic churchmen, their buildings must be destroyed; but it is generally understood now that he was averse to these mischievous proceedings, which were the doing of the unlicensed rabble.

5. THE REFORMATION.—Two armies were now in the field—a protestant and a popish; the former receiving aid from England, and the latter from France. Before, however, they had proceeded to aggravated hostilities, the whole aspect of affairs was changed by the death of the queen-regent on 10th June 1560. Their queen, now eighteen years old, being absent in France, where she sat on a more important throne, the protestant majority were able to carry all before them. A convention of estates was held on 1st August, which abolished the Roman hierarchy in Scotland, took all the dignities and property from the churchmen, and established the protestant system. Two celebrated documents—the Confession of Faith and the First Book of Discipline—were then adopted. Religious toleration was not well known in those days; and not content with repealing the acts for the protection of the Romish Church, the parliament enacted that all who said or attended mass should for the first offence be prosecuted with confiscation of goods; for the second with banishment; and for the third with death. The reformers at that juncture

found that their coadjutors among the aristocracy had very different objects from religion in view. It was believed that nearly half the property in the country had belonged to ecclesiastics, and Knox and his followers wished that at least so much of it should be preserved as might form a decent maintenance for the reformed clergy. But the unscrupulous nobles sneered at this as a fond imagination—they laughed at the churchmen, and continued their hold on the spoil, leaving a very small portion for the offices of religion. Events hurried on fast in the memorable year 1560. Mary's husband, the King of France, would probably have taken up the cause of the catholics; and his great power might have made him a formidable opponent of the Reformation, but all such risks were obviated by his death on the 5th of December.

6. MARY STEWART.—This was a severe blow to Mary, for it not only made her no longer queen of France, but greatly reduced her chance of ever reigning over England. She had now to look wholly to Scotland, where her right of sovereignty was unquestioned. She had, however, to prepare for a great and mortifying change. This country has lately risen so high in wealth and civilisation, that the inhabitants at large are far better off than those of France, and there are few comforts or luxuries known in any part of the world which cannot be purchased by them. In Queen Mary's days, however, Scotland was in a very different state; and she, on leaving the luxurious and brilliant court of France to live in Edinburgh, was about to make as great a change as if a young lady of this country were to leave her parents' handsome mansion to live among the Laplanders or the Tartars. The Scots were rough, fierce, and uncourteous, while the French were polite and refined; but the difference in morality was on the other side, for though the Scottish people were then abundantly reckless, their crimes were in general rather those of barbarism and ferocity than of calculating wickedness; while the French courtiers, with all their outward polish, were deeply stained by the blackest vices. Yet as young people see chiefly the surface, the young and widowed Queen Mary left the brilliant circle with regret, standing up in the vessel and exclaiming, as the coast receded—"Oh, dear France, farewell! I shall never, never see thee more!" She passed through an English fleet under favour of a mist, and made a very narrow escape, for there can be no doubt that the jealous Queen Elizabeth had sent these ships to intercept her in her passage. She arrived at Leith on 19th August 1561, where the first appearance of the land over which she was to rule did little to raise her depressed spirits.

As no one could tell exactly when a sailing-vessel in those days might arrive, no preparations had been made for her reception, as when a queen now makes a progress by steamboat or railway. Such of the nobility as were in the neighbourhood, however, went down in great haste, and did the honours on the occasion to the best of their power. When they could find no better means, however, of conducting their sovereign to her palace than by mounting her on a rough Highland pony, she was observed to shed tears, remembering the well-trained palfreys, ornamented with gold-lace, which she rode in France. Her palace of Holyroodhouse was not a third of the size of the present building. It consisted of a few small rooms in the present western tower, and the houses of the city crowded close upon it, making it a neighbourhood of noise and bad smells. Even the congratulations of her subjects must have been an annoyance to the young queen; for some musicians serenaded beneath her window, during the first night of her arrival, with three-stringed fiddles, the discord of which deprived her of the sleep her fatigue demanded.

7. QUEEN MARY.—It was customary to say that Mary, queen of Scots, was the most beautiful woman of her age. She was taught every accomplishment, and had great natural abilities. She wrote very good letters when she was but fourteen years old, and all her life composed gracefully both in poetry and prose, generally in the French language. She was lively and sensitive, quick in her anger, and wayward. It is not easy to suppose one so flattered and caressed as she was without these defects; but it was observed that she nourished deep feelings of resentment and passion, and that she had learned at the French court the art of concealing these dangerous feelings, and being plausible to those she hated most. She resolved at once to make the best of her changed position, and by her winning manners speedily secured the good-will of the courtiers and the applause of the people. She even managed to keep up a show of friendship and good offices to the jealous Queen Elizabeth, without giving up her nominal title to the throne of England, though she professed to postpone it during Elizabeth's life.

She could not, however, overcome the scruples, or lull the suspicions, of the leaders of the Reformation. They had naturally a strong dislike to one who was a Roman-catholic, and so much connected with their great enemy, the court of France. They desired even to stipulate that she should not be allowed to exercise her own worship in private, and the priest who said mass for her was sometimes in danger of his

life. She increased their suspicions by her own want of candour; for she would not distinctly ratify the acts of the Reformation of 1560, but desired to leave matters as they stood,—conduct which naturally excited suspicions that she would restore the old system if an opportunity should arise. Knox had violently preached against her, and she had several interviews with him, in which she had hoped to fascinate the stern churchman as she did others, but in vain. On one of these occasions, she is said to have wept, either from grief or petulance; and when some person expressed his surprise that Knox was not afraid: “Why,” said he, “should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman frighten me? I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been afraid beyond measure.”

Yet the first important disturbance of this troubled reign began in the very opposite quarter—with the Roman-catholics of the north. It has been mentioned, that the queen’s illegitimate brother, James Stewart, was the leader of the protestants. Notwithstanding this, she desired to promote him to high honours; and, indeed, they were thus of mutual service to each other, for her brother protected her from many indignities which the unpopularity of her religion would have brought on her. In pursuance of her views, she resolved to raise her brother to the earldom of Murray. The Earl of Huntly, the most powerful chief north of the Grampians, considered this an interference both with his property and his influence, and as it would tend to strengthen the protestant interest, he got the great Roman-catholic party in the north to join him in rebellion. The queen advanced herself at the head of an army, showing great spirit, and expressing a wish that she had been a man and a soldier to sleep on the bare heather. Her troops encountered those of Huntly at a place called Corriche, on the broad flat hill of Fare, about fifteen miles  
 28th Oct. } from Aberdeen. There Huntly was slain, his army  
 1562. } was defeated, and peace restored in the north.

8. DARNLEY.—It was of great importance to Scotland, and even to England, that the young queen should be suitably married. After many fluctuating views, her choice fell on one connected with both the reigning families—Henry Stewart, lord Darnley, son of the Earl of Lennox. This earl was a descendant of James II., whose granddaughter had married an earl of Lennox, and thus he was pretty near to the succession to the crown of Scotland. His son Darnley was still nearer to that of England. It will be remembered, that the sister of Henry VIII., after the death of her husband, James V., married the Earl of Angus. She had a daughter, who became

Countess of Lennox, the mother of Darnley, who thus was the great-grandson of Henry VII.

The inauspicious wedding took place on 29th July 1565. Darnley was a tall, handsome, well-made man, expert at all the athletic exercises of the day, but he was weak, vain, and dissipated, and had altogether such a character as a clever accomplished woman could not respect. The union seemed at first, however, to be auspicious. Murray and some discontented nobles rose against it; but the people flocked round the queen and her handsome husband, who rode at her side in gilded armour, and the rising was suppressed. Darnley, however, soon saw that the queen had little respect for him, and that she consulted wiser advisers. He wished to have the title of a sovereign, instead of merely being Lord Darnley and the queen's husband; but this was resisted. A desire for vengeance now began to take possession of his worthless heart. There was a little deformed Italian musician, named David Rizzio, whose talents for business and conversation gave him great influence with the queen. It was not unnatural that she should prefer the company of one who shared in her tastes and accomplishments, to the proud, ignorant, uncultivated barons, who were her husband's companions; but she carried her partiality to an imprudent extent. Darnley easily got his companions to join in an enterprise against Rizzio, for they all hated the obscure foreigner, whose accomplishments eclipsed their own; and the days of the poor musician were numbered.

**MURDER OF RIZZIO.**—There is a room in the oldest part of Holyrood still shown to visitors almost in the state in which it was on the 9th of March 1566, when Queen Mary was seated there at supper chatting with Rizzio and the Duke of Argyle. A secret passage, the opening of which may still be seen, led from Darnley's apartment to this chamber, and through it passed the conspirators. The little party was first frightened by the sudden appearance of Lord Ruthven in complete armour, his ferocious face gaunt and grim from the ravages of disease—for he had just risen from a sick bed to commit the murder. He immediately said familiarly to the queen, "It will please your majesty to let yonder man, Davie, come forth from your presence, for he hath been overlong there." Meanwhile, Darnley and the other conspirators crowded into the little room; and the Italian, seeing the fate awaiting him, clung to the queen for protection. She tried to overawe the murderers, but in vain. One of them held a pistol to her head, while the others dragged the wretched man forth, and despatched him with their daggers on a part of the floor,

where a dark stain still remaining is said to be the mark of his blood. The carcass was kicked down stairs, and Darnley and Ruthven went back to the queen's apartment, where the latter sat down and demanded liquour to refresh him after his work. The queen, stung to fury, said, that she would henceforth study revenge. Mary was in a condition when such an outrage was calculated to produce serious results. Little more than  
 19th June } three months afterwards she gave birth to a son,  
 1566. } known in Scottish history as James VI., and as James I. in the history of England.

9. Mary was easily able to influence her weak-minded husband. They appeared to be reconciled, and he even deserted the cause of his associates in iniquity. Whether her kindness to him was genuine or hypocritical will probably never be known. At that time, among the most dissolute and ferocious of the Scots nobles, was James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, a man of dark, haughty, but handsome appearance, more polished and accomplished than many of his neighbours, but among them all the most unscrupulous and daring in his wickedness. It was observed that this bold bad man was exercising a dangerous influence over the young queen. She conferred several honours on him; and what is more remarkable, when he had been wounded in a skirmish on the border, she rode a long journey, through a wild lawless country without roads, to visit him.

MURDER OF DARNLEY.—Meantime, Darnley, who was leading a course of low dissipation, fell ill at Glasgow. Mary brought him to Edinburgh for the sake of better medical advice, and lodged him in an old and somewhat dilapidated mansion, called the Kirk of Field, standing outside the city wall, on a part of the site now occupied by the University of Edinburgh. On the 9th of February 1567, the queen left her husband's lodging to attend a masked ball at Holyrood, in celebration of the marriage of one of her followers. At the dead of night, the citizens living near the Kirk of Field thought they heard shrieks and groans from that quarter, and then suddenly the whole city was roused by a terrific explosion. Those who rushed to the spot found the building blown up from its foundation, and Darnley and his page lying dead. None have been able to reveal the secrets of that dreadful night; but the most probable account is, that, after Darnley had retired to rest, the conspirators slipped in through a door left open, strangled their victim, and then blew up the mansion with gunpowder concealed in a vault below. It was at all events ascertained afterwards, that Bothwell was at the

root of the conspiracy, and superintended the firing of the train.

#### EXERCISES.

1. What circumstances gave hope of a union of England and Scotland? What made such an arrangement desirable? What policy did Henry VIII. adopt? Who were his opponents in Scotland? Describe the inroad of the English, and its result.

2. Give an account of George Wishart. Who was his great enemy? What was his fate? How did he speak of Beaton at the scaffold? What was the fate of the cardinal? What conduct did the conspirators pursue? How did John Knox come to be confined in the French galleys?

3. Who invaded Scotland? What was the result of the battle of Pinkie? What proceeding was adopted to defeat the efforts of the English? Who became regent? Mention those events in the succession to the English crown which afterwards became of great importance to Scotland. What was the claim of Mary, queen of Scots, to the English throne?

4. Who took the leadership of the protestant party? Who returned to Scotland at this juncture? What conduct in the regent caused a collision? How did Knox act? What destruction of buildings commenced?

5. What event changed the state of parties? How did the position of the queen affect them? What proceedings were taken in parliament for the establishment of the Reformation? What views had the aristocracy for their personal aggrandizement? What event in France affected Scotland?

6. Describe the change which Mary made in coming from France to Scotland. What was the state of Scotland at that time? What narrow escape did the queen make? How was she received?

7. What was said of Mary's personal appearance? Give some account of her character. Mention the causes of dislike and suspicion towards her. What took place between her and Knox? From what did the first disturbances of the reign arise? What took place in the north?

8. How was Henry Darnley connected with the royal families of England and Scotland? What were his appearance and character? Mention the circumstances which first disgusted him. How did David Rizzio become offensive to Darnley and the nobles? Give an account of the murder of Rizzio.

9. How did Mary and Darnley act after the murder? Give an account of Bothwell. What created suspicion as to his influence on the queen? Relate what is known of the murder of Darnley.

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## CHAPTER V.

FROM THE MURDER OF DARNLEY TO THE ESTABLISHMENT  
OF THE PRESBYTERIAN SYSTEM, 1567—1592.

Bothwell's Trial—Mary's Imprisonment in Lochleven Castle—Her Escape—Battle of Langside—She takes Refuge in England—Assassination of the Earl of Murray—Regent Morton—Raid of Ruthven—Execution of Queen Mary—James VI.—Struggles of the Church.

1. BOTHWELL'S TRIAL.—After the crime mentioned in the previous chapter, the weight of some dreadful mystery seemed to press on all men's minds, and the gay court of Mary became a place of suspicion and distrust. All pointed to Bothwell as the murderer; but it was remarked with ominous concern, that Mary, instead of loathing him, appeared to treat him with favour. Then the suspicion extended to herself. Voices were heard in the night denouncing the murderers, and similar placards appeared in the streets, notwithstanding the vigilance and threats of Bothwell. At last the demand that he should be tried for the murder could not be resisted; but care was taken that the trial should be merely a pretence, and he himself provided for his safety by the attendance of a large body of armed followers. He was acquitted; and the public were startled and amazed to know that he had married the queen on the 15th of May, just three months and five days after the murder of her former husband. Bothwell, it is true, had forcibly seized upon her person; but it remains still one of the many mysteries connected with the whole matter whether she really yielded to force or only pretended to do so. No one could excuse her unbecoming haste; and, among other things, it was even observed that she lent her aid to get Bothwell divorced from his wife that he might be free to marry her.

All the popularity which the beautiful queen had enjoyed was now changed to indignation and hatred. The feelings of the people were so vehement as to give heart to the factious nobles, who rose in open insurrection to drive her from power. Her forces assembled at Carberry Hill, near Musselburgh, 17th March } but were dispersed by the insurgents, and Mary  
1567. } capitulated. In the meantime, Bothwell, urged by guilty fears, fled to Dunbar, where he took ship. He was closely chased by Kirkcaldy of Grange near the Orkney Isles, but he escaped, and ended his strange and evil life in a



prison in Denmark, to which he had been condemned for piracy in the northern seas.

2. Poor Mary's fate was doomed to be still more tragic. She was brought in shame and contumely to Edinburgh, where the people hooted her, and charged her with murder. A banner was held before her—on one side of which was painted Darnley lying dead at the Kirk of Field, with the motto, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord;" while on the other side there was a representation of the young prince on his knees, as if praying for vengeance on the murderers of his father. At length she was conveyed a prisoner to Lochleven Castle—a gloomy stronghold on an island of a bleak lake in Kinross-shire. It was resolved that she should be compelled to resign her crown in favour of the young prince. The task of accomplishing this was deputed to Lord Lindsay, a rough passionate man, who is said to have left, when pressing her arm, the marks of his steel glove on the flesh. Her resignation of the crown virtually conferred the government on her brother Murray, who was called to act as regent, and began to govern with a firm hand. Meanwhile, Mary found use for her powers of fascination, which gained the heart of George Douglas, the younger son of the proprietor of Lochleven, who acted as her jailor. The young man was suspected, and dismissed from the castle; but there was an active boy, his kinsman, called little Douglas, with whom he made arrangements for Mary's escape. One night he managed to steal the keys, and got Mary and her waiting-woman taken to the shore in a skiff, while he had the sagacity to warn the conspirators of his movements. The popular indignation against the queen had dissolved into pity when it was known that she was imprisoned, and the news of her escape was heard with enthusiasm. Many nobles flocked to her banner, and she was soon at the head of a large army. It was but ill commanded and disciplined, however, and was put to flight by the regent's troops on the fatal field of Langside.

3. All that remained for Mary now was to decide whether she should flee to France or to England. Unfortunately for herself she gave credit to Queen Elizabeth for candour—a virtue which that clever queen was far from possessing, and resolved to seek her protection. She therefore crossed the border, and surrendered to the warden of the marches. The astonishment, if not the delight, of Elizabeth, when she found her hated rival in her hands, may well be conceived. She was not long in finding an excuse for harshness. She expressed herself sorry that she could not receive Mary at court while she lay under the imputation of revolting crimes. Mary said

she could clear herself, and this was dexterously made use of as an admission that the Queen of England was entitled to be a judge in the matter, a view quite at variance with notions of national independence. A commission, appointed by the English queen to follow up the inquiry, met at York in October 1568; and, with much effrontery, they called on Murray and Maitland of Lethington, who were present, to do homage, and acknowledge the Queen of England's feudal superiority over Scotland. But Maitland spurned the demand with scorn, saying, that when the territories in England of old held by the Scottish king were restored, homage should be done for *them*, but there should be none for Scotland, which was a more independent kingdom than England itself. The commission concluded without any absolute decision, which was generally the way in which Elizabeth preferred such matters to be managed, being always unwilling to commit herself too far to any straightforward course.

4. In the meantime, the queen's natural brother, James Stewart, earl of Murray, having been chosen regent, protestantism was completely established by the influence of his party in Scotland, and his government was strong enough to keep down opposition. It was not of long duration, however. In some disposal of the property of the queen's partisans at Langside, certain lands belonging to Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh were bestowed on a favourite, who drove forth the late owner's wife in circumstances of great cruelty. Hamilton was resolved to revenge himself, and to strike at the head, instead of merely attacking the individual who had superseded him. As the regent had to pass through the town of Linlithgow, Hamilton got possession of a house in the principal street, where he had a room lined with black to prevent him from being seen from without, and waited with a gun and lighted match, which was in that age the means of setting off firearms.

23d Jan. } He shot the regent dead, and escaped by a back  
1570. } way which he had kept prepared for his purpose.

The Earl of Lennox, Darnley's father, was chosen as the successor of the Regent Murray. He was a man of far inferior ability, and under his rule the country was divided into two factions nearly equal: the one, standing up for Queen Mary, called Queen's men; the other, repudiating her claims, and calling themselves King's men, as professing to be supporters of the young king. They were not, however, so zealous in their support of him as in their dislike of his mother and opposition to her church. The country was frightfully distracted by these feuds, and long remained in confusion and

misery. Each party retaliated cruelly on the other; and thus, John Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews, who had been a persecutor of the protestants, was in his turn put to death on the ground of an old judgment against him. Such things excited the parties fiercely against each other; and a plan was formed by the chivalrous leader, Kirkcaldy of Grange, to make the two parties one, by the queen's men getting possession of the young king, and using his name for any purpose they thought fit. The boy monarch was then in the strong castle of Stirling, looked upon in those days as nearly impregnable. Yet Kirkcaldy's friends laid so well concocted a plot for its seizure, that they very nearly succeeded. They were driven back, however; and the chief effect they produced was the death of the regent—an event which their leaders would have willingly avoided. The Earl of Mar, who succeeded Lennox, held power but a few months, when he died.

A. D. } 5. REGENT MORTON.—He was succeeded by Douglas,  
1572. } earl of Morton, a man whose portraits, as they are still to be seen, represent his fierce and cruel but at the same time cautious and sagacious character. He was concerned in the death of Rizzio, and was under strong suspicion of having assisted in that of Darnley also; but he was one of those whom few dared to accuse, and though secret whispers passed about his bloody deeds, he was made regent of the kingdom, instead of being immediately brought to trial for his offences. Under him the war with the queen's friends grew more savage and exterminating. Scotland indeed became, under this murderer raised to power, a great slaughter-house, and a long series of atrocities occurred, which it would sicken one to read. Queen Elizabeth thought it would be well to step in and quell this civil war, by sending troops to the assistance of the regent. The gallant Kirkcaldy of Grange held out Edinburgh Castle, but after a sturdy resistance it was taken. Morton showed his savage nature by putting Grange to death, instead of honourably treating him as a prisoner of war; and Maitland of Lethington, one of the most wily statesmen of the day, being a prisoner, and observing the treatment bestowed on Grange, committed suicide in the belief that he would only live to be subject to a similar fate. Yet this bold and severe rule kept the turbulent nobles in awe; and Morton held high and undisputed power, until a grinding avarice mixed with his tyranny made him be no longer tolerated.

6. During this regency there commenced a struggle on church government which long influenced the destinies of Scotland. At the Reformation, though there were no protestant

bishops appointed to succeed those of the old establishment, a class of men was chosen called Superintendents, who were entitled in some measure to watch over the conduct and doctrine of the ordinary clergy, and who presided in church courts. This arrangement did not prove in the end satisfactory to either of the two parties into which the kingdom was divided, —the one of whom demanded the establishment of bishops according to the episcopal form adopted in England; while the other insisted on a pure presbyterian government, which did not permit any minister to have authority over his brethren, unless in so far as he might be authorized to act by any assembly or other ecclesiastical court. The selfishness of the nobles was the cause of episcopacy being re-established for a time. The avaricious Morton, who wished to appropriate to himself the revenues of the see of St Andrews, found that the best arrangement for securely drawing this revenue was by appointing a person to be archbishop who would be content to serve for a small stipend, and allow him to receive the remainder. The existence of such dignitaries was very distasteful to the church; but protestant and presbyterian principles had but a late and not very firm footing in the country, while the nobles who wished to possess the revenues of the sees were men of great power. Their influence was brought so skilfully to bear, that, in a convention in which the clergy were represented, it was agreed, "That the name and office of archbishop and bishop should be continued during the king's minority, and these dignities be conferred upon the best qualified among the protestant ministers, but that with regard to their spiritual jurisdictions they should be subject to the General Assembly of the church." This arrangement obtained even the approbation of the General Assembly on the condition that it was to be merely temporary. But the

A. D. } majority of the clergy and a large body of the people  
1572. } looked on the new bishops with contempt and scorn,  
and conferred on them the nickname of the Tulchan Bishops. A tulchan was the name given to an imitation of a calf set beside a cow to make the animal submit to be milked, and the allusion was very obvious to these bishops being made in order that the nobles might milk the church of its revenues.

7. The measure of Morton's tyranny and selfish ambition having become full, he found it prudent to resign his office on the 12th of March 1578; and Mary's son, James, was proclaimed king without a regent over him. It was natural however and necessary that the youth should still be in the hands of managers who governed for him, and in that rude

age it depended more on force or good fortune than real capacity for business who the person might be who ruled for the king. Morton had considerable influence after his resignation, but gradually other people, favourites of the young king, began to rise in power. One of these was Esme, or, as it is pronounced, Emy Stewart of Aubigny, nephew of the king's grandfather, the Earl of Lennox. He had been brought up in France, was gay, thoughtless, and dissolute, and introduced many vices and follies into the young monarch's court. He had another adviser, however, also of his own family name—James Stewart, afterwards earl of Arran—who exercised a far stronger influence over him, and entertained deeper designs. Dreading and hating the grim old statesman Morton, he took effective and formidable means to extinguish both his power and his life. He charged Morton with being concerned in the murder of Darnley; and he who had so long exercised the supreme power in the state was tried as a felon. He had led a fearfully wicked life, and no one can well pity his fate in an age when so many better men suffered. Even his own answer to the charge against him was a very poor vindication, for he admitted that he was aware of the design to murder Darnley, but said he could not well inform the queen as she was one of the conspirators. According to the stories of his contemporaries a curious romance is connected with his death. A  
 A. D. } sort of guillotine or instrument of execution was then  
 1581. } used in Scotland called the Maiden. The victim was laid on his back, and a knife, with some hundredweights of lead attached to it, was allowed, by withdrawing a peg, to fall upon his neck between two grooves. The legend is that Morton invented it, and was himself the first person on whom it was employed.

8. RAID OF RUTHVEN.—With a monarch who was a mere boy, and weaker than other boys of his age, Scotland was now at the mercy of any faction that could profess to rule in the king's name by having his person in their keeping. The Ruthven or Gowry family, whose estates and influence extended over a large part of central Scotland, resolved to make a bold attempt to get possession of him. They had not only several fortresses in the Lowlands, but their territory stretched far up into the Highlands by the Braes of Atholl, and it would have been difficult to follow them with their captive into these fastnesses. The king having been invited to come and enjoy the sports of the field at their castle, called Hunting Tower, near Perth, to his surprise, when he awoke next morning, he saw the place surrounded by armed men. The boy was now

told that he must govern as those about him directed; and when he wept, the old tutor of Glamis roughly said that he  
 A. D. } might whimper on, it was better for bairns to greet, or  
 1582. } cry, than bearded men. This enterprise was called the Raid of Ruthven. After enduring bondage for some time, the king again escaped to his favourites Lennox and Arran, who insisted on vengeance being wreaked on their rivals. Old Gowry was executed, and his family and abettors punished in various degrees. Arran, more reckless than ever, made his power the means of ministering to his own capricious and wicked will, without one thought for the people whose destinies were in his hands. He first courted the Scottish church, then becoming powerful; and subsequently incurred its enmity, as he did that of all the country. His tyranny became at last so intolerable, that a large party of the nobles leagued together, and, getting possession of the king's person, drove him from power.

9. While these events were going on, the presbyterian spirit was acquiring great strength in the church, and it was clear that a fierce struggle would be made against the order of bishops. At length the General Assembly declared the office to be unscriptural, and called on those who held it to resign under pain of excommunication. They were proceeding to excommunicate one newly raised bishop, named Montgomery, when James sent a herald to stop farther proceedings in his royal name; but his authority was disregarded, and the sentence was duly passed. The king's two favourites being the  
 A. D. } advisers of these and other unpopular measures, were  
 1582. } the object of attacks both by the clergy and the people, and the former in their pulpits inveighed against them with great zeal. It tended farther to widen the breach, that the king banished one of the most zealous of them, named Dury, from Edinburgh. The church had in the meantime formed a rule of discipline or church polity for itself; but the king and his advisers were sufficiently powerful to prevent its receiving the sanction of parliament. Under the influence of his favourites, however, the king proceeded to more aggressive acts. In 1584, a parliament was held with closed doors, when stringent laws were passed to curb the power of the church. It was rendered high treason to deny the authority of the civil courts, which it had been the glory of the church to repudiate in matters ecclesiastical. All assemblies, civil or ecclesiastical, not convoked by royal authority, were prohibited, and heavy penalties were levelled against all who spoke against the king or his advisers. The effect of these measures

was so to exasperate and alarm the church, that all the ministers of Edinburgh forsook their charges and fled into England. A paper was prepared approving of these laws, which the rest of the clergy were called upon to sign, but it had the effect of driving an increased number from the kingdom, while those who submitted and remained met with little respect.

10. EXECUTION OF QUEEN MARY.—Meanwhile the poor Queen of Scots still lingered in prison, Elizabeth finding her more dangerous as a captive than ever she had been as a rival queen. One conspiracy after another was detected, all more or less connected with projects for her liberation; and at one time England was in actual rebellion from the same cause, for the Roman-catholics, still numerous, held her to be their rightful queen. Elizabeth was deeply perplexed by these events. She would willingly have taken any measures to get rid of so dangerous a person had she dared; and indeed the melancholy fact is now known, that she was base enough to hint, in terms not to be mistaken, to Sir Amias Paulet, who had her in charge, that it would be counted good service were she to be assassinated. To the honour of England, however, servile as the court then was, the queen could not find an instrument to execute her vile purpose, unless she had descended to low assassins, who would be likely to betray her guilt. The great object with her and her advisers therefore became to implicate many in some of the attempts against her life and the crown of England. A conspiracy of this kind had been conducted by a gentleman named Anthony Babington, of the progress of which Queen Elizabeth's dexterous minister Walsingham kept himself constantly informed in every particular. There were two separate branches of the plot,—the one was against Queen Elizabeth, the other in favour of the escape of Queen Mary. That the captive should agree in any means devised for her escape was of course perfectly natural; but it was at the same time easy to maintain that having encouraged this branch of the project, she knew also of the other. A commission was appointed to proceed to Fotheringay Castle, where she was imprisoned, to put her on trial for her life. She defended herself with much spirit and dignity; but defence was useless before judges whose function it was to find the means of getting rid of her, and she was found guilty. It still remained necessary, however, to have Elizabeth's warrant for the execution, and she was extremely anxious that the whole scandal of the deed should fall on others. Her courtiers felt their position very dangerous;

for if they adhered to the law the queen was angry, and if they broke it they were at her mercy. They preferred the former plan, and she was obliged to sign the warrant; but, tricky to the last, she was mean enough to say that she did not intend it to be used, and threw the blame of the execution on Secretary Davidson, whose chief fault was too exact a compliance with her wishes.

On the 8th of February 1587, the unfortunate Mary Stuart was led forth to execution. Nineteen years of rigorous confinement had dimmed the lustre of that beauty which was the admiration of all Europe; but her mind still retained its old firmness, and she died with a dignity and resignation which went farther than anything else to make the world believe her innocent of the odious crimes imputed to her charge. Her memory was tenderly cherished by her immediate followers, and, when compared with the revengeful and wily Elizabeth, her partisans considered her a holy martyr.

11. JAMES VI.—We naturally inquire how the King of Scotland conducted himself on this occasion, and should expect to find that, being a young man only twenty years of age, and at the head of a warlike kingdom, he would have attempted either to protect his mother or avenge her fate. Had he abstained from doing so for the sake of the lives of his subjects, his behaviour would have been commendable, but there is good reason to believe that he acted under no better motives than cowardice and selfishness. At first he professed some indignation; but when he thought of the annuity of five thousand pounds which Queen Elizabeth paid him, and on the many other favours which she had in her power to bestow on him, including that greatest of all, supporting his pretension to succeed to the throne of England, he restrained his just resentment. It may be well here to give a sketch of this king's appearance and character. Though the son of parents both remarkable for their stature and beauty, he was squat and ungainly in his person, and singularly ugly, having an irregular-shaped rough face and a flat nose. He was awkward in his habits, waddling about, and ever fingering at some part of his dress. He was devoid of courage, and always in a nervous apprehension for his person. He possessed a certain low cunning in some matters which he considered a kind of statecraft, and it was one of his maxims that kings were never to be held to their word. He does not appear to have been vicious, except that he indulged too much in wine. His tastes were mean and low, however, and he had an intense curiosity about matters with which it is not



usual for rightminded people to occupy themselves, and this propensity made his enemies often charge him with degrading vices. He took great interest in the judicial proceedings against some wretched women who, according to the superstitious credulity of the times, were tried for witchcraft, and he believed that in these affairs his own wisdom was conspicuous in defeating the machinations of Satan. His best properties were, that he was fond of peace, and wished justice to be well administered throughout all his dominions. He was good-natured and clement, unless to offenders against his own person, to whom his selfishness made him cruel. His abilities as an author were respectable, and his works are still preserved. His tutor George Buchanan, a great scholar and the finest Latin writer of modern Europe, stuffed him full of scholarship; but it made him instead of a really learned man rather a pedant, whose mind retains a great many hard words and wise sayings, but cannot apply them to their proper uses. The name of the modern Solomon was on this account given to him, sometimes in ridicule and sometimes in flattery. Soon after his mother's death he performed one act of a chivalrous kind, very much at variance with the usual tenor of his life. Having sought the hand of Anne of Denmark, A. D. } daughter of Frederick the Second, he set sail himself  
1589. } for Copenhagen, and brought home his bride.

12. STRUGGLES OF THE CHURCH.—But before this domestic event took place, the most important public interest was connected with the contests between the king and the church. Though the Scottish clergy did not enjoy the wealth of the old Roman-catholic church, the Reformation ministers had an influence over their flocks which made them very formidable to the king. They still struggled against the trammels which Lennox and Arran had imposed on them; but the approach of the celebrated Spanish armada was the circumstance which chiefly contributed to their strength and importance. Great fears were then entertained lest James, prompted by a natural desire to avenge his mother's death, should aid the attempt to punish Elizabeth. He led the King of Spain to believe that he was prepared to support the Romish church. His better sense and his calculating selfishness, however, enabled him to see that his best chance of succeeding to the English throne lay in its remaining unshaken, and he put his kingdom in a posture of defence, levying troops for its protection. The cause of protestantism was warmly adopted by the people; and it may safely be said, that the threatened Spanish invasion was very serviceable to presbyterianism in Scotland. It induced the

zealous friends of the Reformation to prepare a document, afterwards well known as the Covenant, binding all who subscribed it to support the protestant religion, and defend the king's person and government against all enemies. This event was followed by some conspiracies, chiefly conducted by the Roman-catholic party, but countenanced and aided by others of the nobility, and especially by Stewart, earl of Bothwell, a person of whom more will have to be said presently. These attempts were vigorously suppressed in the meantime, and in such a manner as to call forth the applause of Elizabeth and of the presbyterians. Still James felt his position uneasy, and in seeking for support he saw that it could best be afforded by the presbyterian party, who were increasing in strength and popularity. The General Assembly, perceiving this disposition, boldly petitioned for the repeal of the acts relating to episcopacy, and the full establishment of the presbyterian system. Under the advice of the Chancellor Maitland, James unwillingly agreed to the proposal. An act was passed by the parliament of 1592, which often receives the name of the "Charter of the Liberties of the Kirk." It ratified the system which the church had set down for its own government. This system consisted of church courts, of which the chief was the General Assembly, having representatives from all the presbyteries, and serving as a general ecclesiastical parliament. Inferior to this general court were the synods, each covering a considerable district, and having authority over the presbyteries within it; the presbyteries including smaller districts; and the kirk-sessions, of which there was to be one in each parish.

## EXERCISES.

1. What was the effect on the country of the murder of Darnley? Who was charged with the murder? What act by the queen excited suspicion? What led to the battle of Carberry? What was the fate of Bothwell?
2. How did the people show their suspicion of Mary? How was she disposed of? What was she compelled to do in Lochleven Castle? Give an account of the manner in which she escaped. What was the result of her efforts?
3. What question had Mary to decide affecting her fate? How did she act? In what manner was she received and treated by Queen Elizabeth? What attempt was made to put the independence of Scotland in doubt?
4. Who was appointed regent? Describe his death. Who was chosen his successor? Which of the two had the greater ability? Into what parties was the country divided? Describe the state of the country. What enterprise did Kirkcaldy of Grange undertake?
5. What was the character of the Regent Morton? What aid did

Elizabeth give him? How did he treat Kirkcaldy of Grange? What influence did he exercise over the nobility?

6. Describe the manner in which religious parties were divided as to church-government. What motive caused the temporary restoration of episcopacy? Describe the method in which it was restored. What contemptuous name was applied to the temporary bishops?

7. What occurred in the year 1578? Give an account of the young king's favourites. Who was sacrificed to the new order? What tradition is preserved about Morton's fate?

8. What objects and means of accomplishing them prompted the Ruthvens to get possession of the person of James? Describe what followed.

9. What great struggle was in progress? How did the church proceed as to the bishops? What system did they adopt? How did James and his favourites act? What was the effect of the acts of parliament passed against the church?

10. What had been the fate of Queen Mary? What peculiar circumstances placed her life in danger? What designs had Elizabeth? How was Mary connected with Babington's conspiracy? What means were taken for condemning her? How did Elizabeth act? Describe Mary's fate.

11. How did King James act on the occasion? Mention some of King James's peculiarities. What were his good qualities? Mention a chivalrous act performed by him.

12. What event gave strength to the protestant and presbyterian influence in Scotland? What document was adopted? What attempt was suppressed? What event took place in 1592? Give an account of the new system.

## CHAPTER VI.

### FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRESBYTERIAN SYSTEM TO THE UNION OF THE CROWNS, 1592—1603.

The Catholic Conspiracy—Bothwell—Disputes with the Church—The Gowry Conspiracy—James's Succession to the English Crown.

1. THE CATHOLIC CONSPIRACY.—At this period the country was much alarmed by suspicions that the Romanist lords, Huntly, Errol, Angus, and their followers, were still conspiring with the Spanish monarch, and that the king did not pursue them with sufficient vigour. The clergy in the course of their own investigations obtained a clue to an emissary who was setting off from an obscure spot in the Western Isles with suspicious papers. They turned out to be letters intended as invitations to the King of Spain to come over with an army; and as they were signed by the catholic noblemen, to be filled up by the emissary when he got free of Scotland,

A. D. } the event was called the conspiracy of "The Spanish  
1592. } Blanks." Some of the conspirators were seized; but the others felt themselves strong enough to offer resistance, and rose in rebellion in the north. The king marched against them, and dispersed them without a battle. Various punishments were awarded against them, from death to mere forfeiture of property; but it was still insisted by the presbyterian party that James was too lenient to traitors so reckless and obstinate. Indeed the party intimated that they would be content with nothing short of the extermination of Romanism in Scotland; and as James would not consent to this A. D. } extreme measure, the church and he were thenceforth  
1598. } at feud. One of the clergy of Edinburgh, Mr John Davidson, vehemently denounced the king. He said iniquity was seated in the high court of justice, and had trodden equity under foot. There were dark days and trials at hand for the just; and he concluded by calling on his congregation to pray, "that the king by some sanctified plagues might be turned again to God."

2. BOTHWELL.—Such a trial was indeed near at hand. Francis Stewart, earl of Bothwell—who must not be confounded with the Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, who married Queen Mary—was conspicuous even in that unsettled age for his restless turbulence. He had leagued with the Romanist party to bring a band from the borders to aid them, and he had more than once subjected the king himself to fear of violence. The last and most daring of his plots serves to show how unsafe even kings were in their palaces and among their guards in those disorderly times. The Lady Gowry, having lodgings close to the palace of Holyrood, managed, on the morning of the 24th of July 1593, to get Bothwell and an associate through them into the ante-room of the king's bed-chamber, where they hid themselves behind the arras or hangings used in those days to conceal the nakedness of the wall. The king was then asleep, and when he awoke he called for his attendants. Passing through the ante-room, they may well have expressed their astonishment when they saw Bothwell standing there with his sword drawn. Their outcries so startled the king that he leaped from bed, and rushed forth half dressed, and carrying the greater part of his clothing in his hand. A passage by which he hoped to pass to the queen's apartment had been stopped, so that there was no chance of escape in that direction. James was thus in the hands of the bold conspirator and his powerful band of associates; and it has generally been admitted that he acted on

the occasion with more dignity and courage than might have been anticipated. While his persecutor was in his presence the poor king was confused by a new incident. The townspeople, hearing of the enterprise, rushed tumultuously to the palace, desiring to see the king safe. Whether it was from actual fear of Bothwell's vengeance, or his dread of all sorts of conflicts, he showed himself at a window, stating that he was under no coercion, and that a day was fixed for bringing Bothwell to trial for his former offences. On the morrow the rebel lord departed, leaving the king, and indeed the whole government of the country, in the hands of his followers. His trial, or the pretence of it, came on soon afterwards, and some of the fanciful charges brought against him are a striking illustration of the superstitions of the age. Among other crimes, it was alleged that, in conjunction with certain witches, he had modelled a waxen image of the king, which was afterwards held before a slow fire with the intent that, as it melted away, James should grow sick and die. He was further accused of preparing a very potent poison from the skins of adders and toads, with an essence extracted from the head of a young foal, and which was to be so placed that it might fall on the king's head, a single drop being sufficient to destroy life. After having been kept upwards of two weeks in durance, James, who had in vain attempted to escape, made terms with his persecutors, and obtained his freedom.

3. The finances of the country had fallen into disorder, and at the recommendation of the queen, James put the affairs of his kingdom into the hands of eight councillors, who from A. D. } their number received the title of Octavians. The 1595. } religious disputes, however, were still the most important events in the kingdom. In 1594, the Romanist party in the north again broke into open rebellion. They were victorious in the battle of Glenlivet, remarkable for the circumstance, that the Highlanders of the north there encountered the Highlanders of the west, and vied with each other in ferocity. James, on hearing of this victory by Huntly over his general Argyle, marched himself to Aberdeen; and for the purpose of showing the church that he was as it were engaged in their work, he took Melville and some of their ministers in his train. James's wrath was sorely exasperated by an intercepted letter of the rebel leader, in which his anger was likened to a gowk's or cuckoo's storm, and he this time treated his popish enemies to the full content of his presbyterian followers, destroying their goods and places of strength, and slaying themselves when they failed to escape.

But the king still suffered the proverbial fate of those who halt between two extremes. He wished, after a pretty ample punishment had been administered, to slacken in his rigour to the catholic party, yet keep in friendship with the presbyterians. Accordingly, Huntly, who had fled, made very humble and reasonably sounding proffers—he was ready, he said, to be convinced of the falsity of his opinions by any godly minister who could prove it to him, and if it could be successfully proved, he was ready to serve the cause of protestantism with all zeal. When James appeared to listen to these proposals, which doubtless were not very sincere, the clergy A. D. } instantly took fire, held a solemn fast and humiliation 1598. } for the sins of the land, and appointed a permanent council to guard and defend their cause.

4. One of the clergy of Edinburgh, Mr David Black, not content with attacking the Roman-catholics, indulged in fierce invectives against Queen Elizabeth for keeping up a prelatic church, and against King James for intending to follow her example. This suspicion was too true to be lightly taken, for the king was resolved whenever he could to restore episcopacy in all its vigour. Queen Elizabeth's ambassador complained of the attack on her, and demanded the punishment of the clergyman. He was summoned—not before one of the ordinary judicatures, but before the privy-council, a tribunal which from time to time usurped a dangerous authority. Black refused to acknowledge its authority; but it may be questioned if, in accordance with the favourite doctrines of the day, he would have considered that any civil court had a right to control the clergy when in execution of what they deemed their sacred functions. The council deputed by the clergy sent a copy of Black's declinature to the various presbyteries. The king, now fairly at war with them, commanded this body to disperse. Far, however, from obeying his mandate, they set all the pulpits of Edinburgh to open an attack on the king's councillors. Terms of accommodation were offered by the court, if Black would withdraw his declinature; but all compromise was indignantly rejected. Meanwhile Black was tried and found guilty. The various negotiations and overtures that occurred for the preservation of peace, if possible, were too numerous to be recorded. The Octavians were all along for moderate measures, but there were some private advisers who wished to drive the king to extremities. It was reported to him that the citizens of Edinburgh, apprehensive for the safety of their ministers, mounted guard round their dwellings; and James, in return,

somewhat foolishly ordered a body of these citizens to leave the town. All sorts of rumours now spread; and an enthusiast of ability, named Balcanquel, flew to the pulpit of St Giles', and preached on the troubles and dangers of the church, exhorting the presbyterian laymen to meet their ministers and concert proper measures for their protection. Both parties were but too ready to urge each other on. The clergy united with some of the protestant barons, and a deputation was immediately appointed to wait on the king. James was at that time sitting in a room within the Tolbooth, close by where the courts of justice were held and state business was transacted. He was occupied with his privy-council when the deputation entered rather unceremoniously. After they had made their complaint, he asked where the dangers were, and censured them for daring to meet without the royal authority. "Dare!" said Lord Lindsay, one of the deputation, "we dare more than that, and shall not suffer the truth to be overthrown and stand tamely by." It chanced that while these angry retorts were passing, many people, urged probably by curiosity, pressed into the chamber, and there was thus much commotion at the door and in the passages. James, taking one of his frights, hurriedly escaped down stairs to a room where the court of session was sitting. The deputation, thinking themselves slighted by his sudden departure, went back in angry mood to their friends, whom they found well disposed to join them in their indignation; for one over zealous minister, named Cranstoun, had just been exhorting them on the history of Haman and Mordecai. Shouts arose to force the doors of the Tolbooth, and bring out the wicked Haman, and to draw the sword of the Lord and of Gideon. Some were roused to vindictive fury—others acted under a terror that their ministers and themselves were to be attacked A.D. } by an armed force. The scene was more like an out-  
1688. } break in Paris than the more sedate and considerate proceedings of Scotsmen. A furious crowd thundered with hammers and weapons at the Tolbooth door, and it was with the utmost difficulty and danger that some moderate men, who had preserved their senses, were able to guard it. James had at last good reason to be afraid. Resorting to duplicity, he pretended to grant concessions which produced a lull, and then escaped to Holyrood, and next day sought a still more safe retreat at Linlithgow; while a herald appeared at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and denounced the city as rebellious, intimating that the king was to withdraw from it with his court, and calling on the courts of law and all the other public

officers forthwith to abandon the place. This somewhat alarmed the citizens, and especially the trading portion of them, who derived advantages of various kinds from the presence of the court. The ministers remained zealous to their cause as ever, but their former coadjutors became lukewarm. They declined to sign a bond for the defence of religion; and some of the clergy, becoming alarmed for their safety, fled to England. In fact, this tumult, as such outrages almost always do, greatly strengthened the king's hands against the church, and he was resolved to make use of his advantage.

6. Meanwhile the king, having collected a force from the Highlands and the borders, came back to his capital on the 1st of January 1597 as a conqueror. The magistrates offered all submission, but were in the meantime put under arrest. In using the power he had gained, James commenced by circulating among the presbyteries and synods a set of questions, the answers to which could not fail to commit the clergy in one way or other. Some of these bodies gave answers which were a distinct and emphatic defiance, but with a majority the king was successful, and he brought together a pliant General Assembly. A set of articles was put before them, on which they were required to give their views. James pronounced their first answer to be unsatisfactory; and having browbeaten them, they gave in an amended paper, with which the king was content. The tendency of these admissions was to restrain considerably the right of entire self-government, and of fixing the limits of its own power, which the church claimed; and likewise to restrain the privilege of personal censure and criticism on affairs of state, in which the clergy so much indulged in the pulpit.

While the strenuous presbyterian party suffered these humiliations, the church in general obtained a sort of triumph in another quarter. The Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol—three of the lords concerned in the popish conspiracies, but who had hitherto escaped punishment—made various overtures to be pardoned, and permitted peaceably to return. The king agreed to their desire on one condition only—that they should abjure their past religion, and become reconciled to the Church of Scotland. They agreed to these terms, and the ceremony of repentance and reconciliation to the presbyterian church was performed with great solemnity in Aberdeen. It may be questioned whether this conversion was quite sincere. It gratified the middle party in the church, however—those who were neither for episcopacy nor strenuous principles of independence; and perhaps paved the way for



the subsequent proceedings, by which they played into the king's hands.

7. The principle of the independent presbyterian party was, that they were absolute in their own department—the ecclesiastical, and whatever they chose to count within it, but that they had no concern with the civil legislature. Their representatives now, however, desired "That the ministers, as representing the church and third estate of the kingdom, might be admitted to have a voice in parliament." To those who were not far-sighted, this appeared to be giving additional power and importance to the church. Others, however, saw that it was the introduction of the order of bishops, and as these dignitaries would naturally be under a head, that head would be the king, who consequently would be, as in England, the head of the church. One zealous clergyman, Mr John Davidson, said, as to the representative of the church in parliament, in expressive but homely language, "Busk him, busk him as bonnily as ye can, and fetch him in as fairly as ye will—we ken him weel eneuch—we see the horns o' his mitre." The project was, after a good deal of deliberation and debate, sanctioned by the General Assembly. James told them persuasively that it was not his object to bring in papistical or Anglican bishops, but merely that the best and wisest of their brethren should be selected "to have a place in council and parliament to sit upon their own affairs, and not to stand always at the door like poor suppliants, utterly despised and disregarded." The greater part of these discussions occurred in the autumn of 1597 and spring of 1598. No farther step towards the full establishment of episcopacy was made till 1600, when a General Assembly authorized the king to select bishops out of a certain number of persons presented to him in each district by the church. Great restrictions were placed on their power; in fact they were to be in ecclesiastical matters no higher than other clergymen, and it was understood that they were merely to give dignity to the church in parliament, instead of holding dignity in the church by royal sanction.

8. THE GOWRY CONSPIRACY.—Acts of violence and rebellion were of perpetual occurrence during the latter years of James's stay in Scotland; but the most interesting and curious of all the events of the period was the Gowry Conspiracy, still involved in so much obscurity. The Earl of Gowry and his brother were the sons of that same Lord Gowry who had been executed while James was a boy for seizing him and rising in insurrection. It is a mystery still whether the sons

were excited to the strange course they followed by a desire to avenge their father's death or by some other motive. At all events, on the 5th of August 1600, while the king was hunting in the park of Falkland in Fifeshire, Alexander Ruthven, the younger brother of Lord Gowry, came up to him, seeking a confidential conversation, and told him that he had just seized a suspicious looking man, who had the appearance of being an emissary of the court of Rome, and had found him concealing under his robe a vessel filled with gold coins. He said he had detained him at Gowry House to wait on his majesty's pleasure. King James was very fond of any mysterious story; and he was led to suppose that this man belonged to the order of the Jesuits, whom he disliked intensely, saying that they proclaimed it a virtue to kill heretical kings. He was very glad, too, of any opportunity of showing his acuteness in investigating suspicious matters, without consulting the official persons whose proper duty it was to attend to them. Above all, he became excited by the idea of getting possession of some great mysterious treasure, and therefore galloped away with young Ruthven without summoning his guards, and only accompanied by the few attendants who happened to be near him in the field. They had to ride a considerable distance from Falkland to Perth, where Gowry House was situated; and the earl professed to be greatly surprised, when the king and his party came thus suddenly to partake of his hospitality. After they had dined, Alexander Ruthven told the king privately that now was the time to come secretly to the room where he had secured the ecclesiastic whom he had found so suspiciously possessed of treasure. Gowry House, which has now been destroyed, but which stood till a comparatively late period on the banks of the Tay, a little below the bridge of Perth, was one of those curious old Scottish mansions which have turrets stuck on the corners, and passages leading to small chambers within them. Ruthven conducted James through a long passage leading into such a turret, where, instead of seeing a man of peace, carefully bound, with the treasure lying beside him, he found to his horror a man in full armour. They had no sooner entered the room than Ruthven snatched a dagger from this armed man, and threatened the king with vengeance, reminding him of his father's death. James was terrified, but his entreaties and expostulations so shook young Ruthven from his purpose, that he went away for a time, but soon came back again, and swore that the king must die. In the meanwhile, however, James had appealed for assistance to the man in armour. The

most curious part of the whole affair was, that this man knew nothing whatever of the plot. He was a mere ordinary attendant on the Gowry family, named Henderson, who had been ordered to put on armour for the purpose, as Ruthven had told him, of securing a mountain freebooter who had been seized on their Highland estates. His astonishment was therefore as great as the king's when he found that, instead of some desperate robber, he was confronted with his monarch. They seem both to have lost their presence of mind; but Henderson acted so far as to help the king to push his head through the turret window during Alexander Ruthven's brief absence. In the meantime the king's followers, inquiring what had become of him, were told that he had just set off towards Falkland. They were mounting their horses in great haste to follow him, when they were alarmed by his cries; and looking up to the direction whence they came, saw his well known face, red and excited, endeavouring to look forth from the turret window, while a hand held him by the throat. They all rushed to his rescue; but it was difficult to find a way through the intricate labyrinths of such a house. It was the common practice, however, for such turrets to have a secret narrow stair for outlet; and a page named Ramsay, finding such a means of access, ran up before the rest of the king's train could arrive, and stabbed Ruthven with his dagger. The rest of the followers arrived, and despatched him. The Earl of Gowry, who was provost of the town of Perth, and had great influence in the whole country around, now called to arms, saying that the king and his followers had treacherously murdered his brother; but he too was slain, and James with his small train escaped. This has been one of the most perplexing of all the mysterious crimes which occurred in Scotland during that unhappy and turbulent age, and a great deal has been written by able historians with the view of explaining it, but it is still very obscure. About nine years after the conspiracy, some papers belonging to a notary named Sprott, living in a small town in the south of Scotland, seemed to throw light on the mystery, but were held by many to make it only more complicated. They were the papers of Logan, the laird of Restalrig, near Edinburgh, whose house in ruins may still be seen close to the small lake called Lochend. This man was also the owner of the tower of Fast Castle, situated on a nearly inaccessible rock looking over the German Ocean, between the mouth of the Frith of Forth and England. It appeared from these papers that Ruthven and Logan were making arrangements for confining a certain captive in this

fortress; and from the whole of the circumstances it has been supposed that the Ruthvens intended to convey the king secretly down the Tay, and by sea to Fast Castle, and there treat with him as a captive; but the whole story is still involved in mystery. Such of the Ruthven family as had not been put to death were all banished from the kingdom. But the whole affair was found to be so mysterious, that James was accused of having invented it himself for the sake of sacrificing Gowry and his adherents. The clergy, with Mr Robert Bruce at their head, were particularly hard to be convinced of the king's innocence, and he had many controversies with them, in which they exhibited a great degree of sturdy independence.

9. Meanwhile, it was evident that the reign of Queen Elizabeth was drawing to a close. As she approached her end, her ministers were taking all means for rendering themselves agreeable to James, who appeared to be her undoubted successor. His claim was in accordance with the English constitution; and when the courtiers professed to consult Elizabeth herself, though she never would name James or any other person, she said, angrily, "My seat has been the seat of kings, and none but a king must succeed me." She died on the 24th March 1603; and James was immediately proclaimed in London as her successor without the slightest opposition. It was an object with the courtiers to be the first to carry the news to him. Sir Robert Carey had a sister in Elizabeth's service, who attended her on her deathbed. She prepared him to expect the closing scene; and as Cecil and the privy-council had shut the palace gates, and prohibited all communication, she could only inform him of the event by some preconcerted sign. This was managed by the dropping of a ring. Her brother had made his arrangements for the journey so well, that he started for Scotland instantly, and he travelled so fast, that on Saturday night he roused King James out of bed to inform him that Elizabeth had died on Thursday morning at three o'clock. This was deemed a wonderful feat, which nothing but the ambition of being high in favour with the new monarch would give a man sufficient inducement to perform, since in those days such a journey generally occupied a fortnight.

#### EXERCISES.

1. What suspicions were roused? Give an account of an incident which confirmed them. How did the catholic lords act? What did the church party demand?
2. What was the character of Stuart, earl of Bothwell? Give a

description of his attack on King James. What was the consequence of it? What was the nature of Bothwell's trial?

3. What body received the title of Octavians? What was the cause, and what the nature, of the battle of Glenlivet? What excited James's indignation against the rebels? What was the conduct of Huntly? How did the church party act on the occasion?

4. What attack was made on Queen Elizabeth? Describe the controversy carried on between the clergy and the court. What designs did the king secretly entertain? What was done by Balcanquell? Describe the scene which followed. How did James act towards his assailants? How did the partisans of the clergy become lukewarm?

6. How did the king return to Edinburgh? How did he act towards the clergy? What restraints did the church submit to? What triumph did it obtain? Give an account of the ceremony which took place at Aberdeen.

7. What was the principle of the independent presbyterian party? How was the way opened for the restoration of bishops? With what limitation did the king obtain power to name bishops?

8. What is the most interesting and curious of the conspiracies of the period? Whose sons conducted it? Give an account of the Gowry conspiracy. Have historians been able to discover the motive for this act? What light is supposed to have been thrown on it by the discovery of some papers?

9. What was the conduct of Elizabeth as to the succession to the throne? When did Elizabeth die? What plans had been taken to give the king early information of her death? What remarkable journey was made?

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## CHAPTER VII.

### FROM THE UNION OF THE CROWNS TO THE DEATH OF JAMES VI., A. D. 1603—1625.

Proposed Union of England and Scotland—The Church—Learned Men—Episcopacy—James revisits Scotland—Articles of Perth—Scottish Parliament—Death of James.

1. PROPOSED UNION.—Scotland was now under the same monarch with England, but it was still in all respects a separate and independent country. It had its own parliament, its own courts of justice, and its own church, while the king was bound to take the advice of Scottish statesmen about the government of that part of his dominions. Some people were not without apprehension that the smaller country would now lose all power and influence. There were certain matters, indeed, in which it would be very difficult for it to act independently of England. For instance, it would have been out of the question that James as King of Scotland should contract an alliance with

France while England was at war with that country, or should go to war on some Scottish quarrel with a nation at peace with England. But there were advantages which far more than counterbalanced any such evils. It was valuable to have the protection of so powerful a state as England, instead of being perpetually at war with it; and at the same time the great riches and resources of the country were opened to the Scots, whose sterile soil and endless wars had kept them hitherto in poverty, notwithstanding their intelligence and activity. An effort was made to unite the two countries under a common constitution and system of laws; and commissioners from the two countries met at Westminster to discuss such a measure, but they could not come to terms. The Scots could see nothing in a free interchange of commodities and a participation in the trade of England to make up for the loss of their old parliaments and aristocratic institutions. All that was effected was, that persons born after the Union should have the entire privileges of subjects in both countries—that is to say, those born in Scotland should have the same rights in England as Englishmen, and so of those born in England with regard to Scotland. As to the existing inhabitants they had fewer privileges. The natives of the one country might succeed to or enjoy property in the other, but were not to have a voice in its legislature, or hold any government office in it.

2. THE CHURCH.—The Church of Scotland felt on this occasion a lively alarm for the safety of its privileges, and not without reason, since James had never been friendly to them, and now he would be backed in his opposition by the power of the episcopal church in England. It had been declared illegal to hold an assembly without the king's authority, and this authority he could not be prevailed on to give, so that the meetings of the church-courts were suspended. Resolved not to submit to this restraint, several clergymen, deputed by  
 2d July } presbyteries, assembled at Aberdeen, and, notwithstanding a proclamation to disperse, constituted themselves an Assembly, and chose a moderator. They resisted as  
 1605. } illegal every attempt to coerce them through the privy-council, and at last were brought to trial on a charge of high treason. Though their cause was highly popular, means were found to get a jury to convict them. They were condemned to death, but their punishment was limited to imprisonment and banishment out of the kingdom. A parliament was immediately held, in which the episcopal system was greatly strengthened by the bishops being restored to their ancient privileges; while

the annexation of their benefices to the crown was repealed, and a new distribution was made which gave the bishops suitable incomes, and rendered them less contemptible than they were in their poverty and mere nominal dignity. This step aggravated the feelings of the independent party.

§. Soon after this act was passed, the king called on the chief men of the presbyterian party to proceed to London, and hold a friendly conference on the matters as to which there were differences of opinion. They offered to excuse themselves from so unequal a controversy; but they found it necessary to comply, and proceeded to London with the able and zealous Andrew Melville at their head. They received much courtesy and attention both from courtiers and prelates of the English church; but neither this flattery nor the risk  
 Sept. } they incurred could shake them in their purpose. At  
 1606. } a full meeting of the great officers of state, the king required them to condemn as illegal the Assembly of Aberdeen. After a long series of browbeating, the venerable Melville, finding his patience tried beyond endurance, gave utterance to the opinions of his party in a torrent of indignant eloquence, which astonished the courtiers and enraged the king; while he was firmly supported by his own nephew and his other brethren in demanding a free General Assembly. To increase the annoyances to which they were subjected in their harassing interviews with the king, they were compelled to attend the royal chapel, where an English clergyman of high episcopal and royalist principles attacked their conduct and opinions from the pulpit. Exasperated rather than subdued, the old man somewhat lost temper, and in the presence of the English privy-council he approached Archbishop Bancroft, and shook his pontifical robes, calling them Romish rags, and charging their wearer with enmity to the cause of religious reformation. At the same time he wrote a Latin epigram, severely satirizing part of the episcopal service. In the end, although he had been requested by the king to be present at a free conference, Melville was committed to custody. The detention of Melville and his brethren in London was supposed to have been partly designed to keep them absent from an  
 A. D. } ecclesiastic convention to be held at Linlithgow. It  
 1606. } was summoned by the king, and consisted of members chosen by the bishops from each presbytery. The convention assumed the title of a General Assembly, and adopted certain resolutions for strengthening the hands of the bishops, by making them the permanent moderators or presidents of the presbyteries and synods. The presbyterian principle of

equality required that all such office-bearers should be elected; and it was a severe trial to the clergy to be called on not only to tolerate the existence of bishops, but actually to sit under them and acknowledge them as superiors. Their best men had, however, been removed—others were intimidated. When they met in small numbers in the presbyteries, they generally acquiesced in the bishops' authority; but when assembled in larger bodies as synods, they acquired greater confidence, and offered resistance.

4. **LEARNING.**—The king made some laudable but not very effectual attempts at this period for the improvement of the wilder portions of his dominions in the Highlands and the border. He also endeavoured to suppress the private wars carried on by the chiefs and nobles, and the reckless spirit of outrage which characterized the aristocracy and their followers. The most important features in the history of Scotland, however, from the time when he succeeded to the throne of England until his death, are his persevering attempts to re-establish episcopacy in all its completeness. While in the middle of this struggle, it may be well to give an account of the character of those who figured in it. The Reformation in Scotland was accompanied by a marked revival of letters, Knox himself being an author of great ability. He modernized the language of Scotland as Luther did that of Germany. George Buchanan, one of the greatest geniuses and scholars of his age, though not a clergyman, was a stout advocate of the Reformation; and so was Sir David Lyndsay, who wrote plays and poetry in the vernacular language. These men were succeeded in the seventeenth century by others of no less ability:—such were, Andrew Melville, and his nephew James; Arthur Johnson, a Latin poet, inferior only to Buchanan; Robert Baillie, an accomplished scholar, as well as a great church disputant; and Alexander Henderson. The episcopal party was not without talent, and counted for its head Archbishop Spottiswoode, a man of candour and ability. But the preponderance was greatly in favour of the presbyterians. They kept up a constant intercourse with foreign nations and churches,—a practice which tended to enlarge their knowledge and ideas. They were earnest friends of education, to which they gave a stimulus by founding universities and schools, and reforming those which had existed. Thus they had established for themselves a character and influence which it was very difficult for a monarch of King James's character to withstand.

5. **EPISCOPACY.**—Episcopacy in Scotland was still far from



being as complete as it was in England. At the Reformation the clergy were declared incapable of being judges, but the Archbishop of Glasgow was now named an extraordinary lord of session. A still stronger step was immediately afterwards taken. Though the synods and presbyteries were presided over by bishops, yet they with the General Assembly were still the undoubted church-courts. To have supreme power over them, however, and over all ecclesiastical matters, two courts of high commission were established,—the one under the Archbishop of St Andrews, the other under that of Glasgow. A General Assembly now met; and strict care having been taken to prevent the free action of the presbyterian party, it was sufficiently submissive to sanction these proceedings. It still, however, left the ordinary presbyterian church-courts in existence, though with greatly diminished powers. Thus the Scottish prelates went on step by step. First they got the title of bishop, then the emoluments, then the power and jurisdiction. It was singular that up to this point they had not been adopted by the usual spiritual formalities into the episcopal order; and this perhaps left the most formidable difficulty of all, since the people were less apt to quarrel with the name than the reality of a bishop. Now, however, the way being sufficiently prepared, they went to England and were consecrated.

6. ARTICLES OF PERTH.—In the year 1617, King James paid a visit to "his ancient kingdom," as Scotland was called. Notwithstanding his ecclesiastical innovations, he was received everywhere with joy and enthusiasm, being greeted especially by an immense number of poetical effusions. Joyous as it seemed, however, this visit was fraught with mischievous consequences to the country, and with calamities to his own family which he could have little anticipated. He was tempted to carry still farther the spirit of meddling with those matters of conscience and belief which people hold most sacred and inviolable. He found that though the church-government was now episcopalian, the religion and form of worship of the people were still presbyterian. Having been for some time accustomed to the solemnities of the English church, he felt the presbyterian form to be cold and ungenial. His advisers among the English churchmen told him that it was an irreverent and unfit method of conducting the national worship. He insisted, much to the disgust of his subjects, on the strictest forms of the Church of England being observed at the worship where he himself was present. He declared that it was the privilege of a christian king to regulate the ceremonies

and external polity of the church. With this view, he proposed to a body of the clergy assembled at St Andrews five ecclesiastical rules, which became afterwards memorable as the Articles of Perth.

These articles were utterly at variance with the principles of the presbyterian Church of Scotland. By the first it was declared that the communion should be received in a kneeling posture, and not by persons seated at a table, as had been the practice. By the second, the communion might in extreme cases be administered in private, instead of in presence of the congregation. The third made a like rule as to baptism. The fourth introduced the ceremony of confirmation by the bishop, in which young people took upon themselves the obligations which when they were baptized were taken for them by their sponsors. The fifth and last appointed that four days in the year should be observed by holding church services in commemoration of the great events of the christian dispensation. These were—Christmas, the day of Christ's nativity; Good Friday, the day of the crucifixion; Easter-day, that of our Saviour's resurrection; and Pentecost, when the Holy Ghost descended on the apostles.

In the framing of these articles the greatest care was taken to adapt them if possible to the taste of the people; and the last was commenced by a strong declaration of abhorrence of the superstitious observance of festival days by the papists, and the profane abuse thereof. Still it was impossible to reconcile the presbyterian people of Scotland to these rules. In fact, the quarter from which they were proposed only made them more offensive, for these are matters in which people will more readily adopt a change of their own accord than accept it from others. The power of the bishops was now, A. D. } however, so well established, that at a General Assem-  
1618. } bly at Perth—the last held before the great civil wars—the articles were adopted by a large majority. They were confirmed in the ensuing parliament.

A. D. } 7. CONSTITUTION OF PARLIAMENT.—In this parlia-  
1621. } ment, at the same time, an important innovation was made on the constitution of the kingdom. The business of the Scottish parliament was generally transacted, not as in England in a full assembly of members, but by a committee called the Lords of the Articles. In England, the Lords and the Commons had long sat in separate chambers, and a law had to pass through the one house and then the other. In Scotland, all the Estates, as they were called, met together; but, instead of sitting in full assembly from day to day, they usually

had but two general meetings—the one at the beginning of the session, when they chose the lords of the articles, and left the business in their hands; the other at the end of the session, to pass the acts as the lords of the articles had adjusted them. While there were bishops in parliament, the lords of the articles were selected partly from each of the three estates—the prelates, the nobles, and the commons. Heretofore the commons, representing shires and royal burghs, had the choice of those who were selected from their own body. But a great innovation was made in the parliament of 1621. The prelates chose eight noblemen, who in their turn selected eight prelates. These sixteen then chose a like number from the commons. Thus the nomination of the body which transacted the important business of parliament was entirely in the hands of the bishops, who owed their appointments to the king.

This constitutional innovation and the confirmation of the Articles of Perth were the last events of importance before the death of King James on the 25th day of March 1625.

#### EXERCISES.

1. How far was Scotland united with England, and how far kept distinct? What difficulties did its position present? What advantages did Scotland gain? What measure was proposed? To what extent was it carried out?

2. What grounds of alarm had the church? What meetings were suspended? What was done at Aberdeen? Who were punished? What farther step was taken in the complete restoration of episcopacy?

3. What meeting was assembled in London? Who was at the head of the Scottish clergy on the occasion? What was the effect of the conference on them? How did the two parties treat each other? What was going on in Scotland during Melville's detention in London? How did the church receive the authority of the bishops?

4. What attempts did the king make to improve the state of Scotland? At what period did letters revive in Scotland? Mention some supporters of the Reformation who were men of ability. Give the names and qualifications of those who succeeded them in the seventeenth century.

5. What new step was taken as to the power of the bishops? What new courts were established? How did the General Assembly act? What was the last step taken?

6. What event took place in 1617? How did James occupy himself in his visit? What did he insist on as to forms? What name was given to the ecclesiastical rules proposed by him? Give an account of the Articles of Perth. How were they adopted?

7. How was the business of the Scottish parliament transacted? and how did it differ from that of England? What were the functions of the lords of the articles? What innovation was made in 1621? When did James die?

## CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES I. TO THE TREATY  
OF RIPON, A. D. 1625—1641.

Charles I.—The Tithes or Teinds—Archbishop Laud—Tumults in Edinburgh—Opposition to the Use of Laud's Service-book—The Tables—National Covenant—Proceedings of the Covenanters—Threatened Hostilities—The Scots march into England.

1. JAMES was succeeded by his unfortunate son, Charles I., a man in character and fortunes very unlike himself. Charles was a man of reserved, stately, and somewhat melancholy deportment. He followed his objects not so much from a conceited pedantic self-will, as because he deemed them right and fitting. He was a good husband and father, and very free from personal vices; but he had one sad defect of character for the times in which he lived, that he was unscrupulous in accomplishing the ends which he thought the right ones, and held himself thus entitled to break faith with his enemies. It is curious to reflect that the mother and the son of James were both people of dignified character, great ability, and a remarkably fine personal carriage, yet both were so unfortunate,—while he himself, contemptible in character and appearance, was the most fortunate monarch of his age, and ended his days in peace.

THE TEINDS.—Charles lost no opportunity of enforcing the system of episcopacy, and he was speedily advised to adopt a measure which raised a new and formidable body of opponents. The aristocracy even in his father's reign were beginning to show some jealousy of the dignity and authority of the prelates, and a lively alarm lest the church property which they had obtained at the Reformation might be seized from them to enrich the clergy. Charles realized this fear by a resolution to resume the tithes or teinds. These consisted in a tenth-part of the fruits of the soil, which, according to the custom of the Romish church over the greater part of Europe, was given by the owner or the tiller of the land for the support of that church. As a country rose in wealth and importance this sum would rapidly increase. At the Reformation it was sufficient, along with other ecclesiastical property, to make the church very wealthy. The right to collect the tithes was then appropriated to themselves by the powerful noblemen,

who out of them paid small incomes to the clergy. When Charles proposed to bring before the convention or parliament a measure for restoring the tithes, these nobles resolved at A. D. } once to resist it by force, and, if need be, by the slaughter-  
1626. } ter of the royal commissioner Nithsdale. So determined were they in their purpose, that the blind old Lord Belhaven had himself placed beside the Earl of Dumfries, a supporter of the court, whom he held fast with one hand by way of supporting himself, while he held in the other a dagger concealed beneath his coat, which he was to plunge into the earl's bosom should the proposal be made. But the commissioner, alarmed, withdrew it. As the levying of the tithe was, however, felt by many landowners to be very oppressive, the king by their aid was powerful enough to carry a modified measure, by which he could enforce a surrender of the tithes, and adjust the claims of the different parties. The titulars, as those who held the tithe were called, yielded in the meantime, as men who could not help their position, but they were ready when an opportunity occurred to take part against the royal authority. These matters were contemporary with the great discontents which were arising in England in consequence of innovations on the constitution. Thus was this unhappy monarch by his own perverse acts not only making enemies of the people of England, but also of the clergy, people, and aristocracy of Scotland.

2. LAUD.—In 1633, Charles made a journey to Scotland to be crowned. He was in general well received; but the pertinacity with which he insisted on those ritual observances, which the people had learned to dislike, gave much offence. He had with him on that occasion Archbishop Laud, a zealous and ambitious prelate, who interfered with the proceedings, and insisted on the Scottish bishops being more ceremonial than they themselves would have willingly desired to be. He was himself partial to a ritual nearer to the old Romish form than that of the Church of England, and he formed the insane design of commencing the enforcement of his views in Scotland. Accordingly he proposed that, as there was hitherto no fixed form of service in the Scottish church, one should be prepared and adopted which should be more catholic in its spirit than the English Prayer-book. This service-book, along with a set of ecclesiastical canons or laws, was prepared by the bishops of Scotland, assisted by Archbishop Laud, and Wren, the bishop of Norwich, without consulting the Scottish parliament or any general assembly of the church. At the same time, while this innovation came entirely from England, and was

founded on the ideas of English churchmen, they knew so little of the real state of Scotland, that Clarendon says, "That while the whole nation was solicitous to learn what passed weekly in Germany and Poland, and all other parts of Europe, no man ever inquired what was doing in Scotland, nor had that kingdom a place or mention in one page of any gazette."

3. COMMENCEMENT OF THE TUMULTS.—It was on the 23d day of July 1637, a day ever memorable, that the service-book was appointed to be first used. The Bishop and Dean of Edinburgh officiated in the Church of St Giles, or the Cathedral, as it was then termed. There were early symptoms of restlessness and commotion; but when the collect for the day was announced, an old woman, named Jenny Geddes, unable longer to restrain her indignation, uttered some opprobrious remarks, such as, "Deil colick thee, thou false thief—dost thou say mass at my lug?" and thereupon threw at the dean's head the folding-stool, on which it was then the practice to sit in churches. All was now wild commotion; and the clerical dignitaries with difficulty escaped the fury of the mob. The privy-council and the other Scottish authorities were not very active in punishing this outrage, for they could not help feeling that the king was bent on a very dangerous course. The persons who joined in the outbreak consisted in general of the lowest rabble of the streets; but they acted under opinions held in common with the better classes, who would have employed a more decent mode of expressing them. The clergy had been formally enjoined to adopt the service-book. Headed by an able and zealous member of their body, Alexander Henderson, some of them applied to the privy-council to be relieved from this injunction. The council showed that it was not warm in the cause of Laud and the bishops by taking advantage of a technicality, and declaring that the injunction to the clergy was only to obtain possession of the service-book—not to use it in their churches. The council went farther, and endeavoured to explain to the king how injudicious it was to push the intended innovation, and that the worst consequences might arise from it. This moderate advice was spurned by Charles, who did not look to the feelings and habits of the people he governed, but to his own opinions and tastes, and those of Laud and his other advisers in England. The communication with London at that period was slow, and a long time elapsed before answers were received to letters on great affairs of state. It was in August that the privy-council applied to the king, and they did not receive a full reply until the middle of October.

4. THE FOUR TABLES.—In the meantime the enthusiasm spread. The application to the privy-council to be relieved from the use of the service-book had only been made by a small number of clergymen. But they applied actively to their brethren, and the number of Supplicants, as they were called, was soon increased to two hundred. They were at the same time joined by a multitude of the gentry and respectable citizens of the towns, who flocked in numbers to Edinburgh to hear the king's answer. They received it in the form of proclamations at the market-cross, enjoining the use of the service-book, requiring the privy-council and the court of session to remove from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and charging the supplicants immediately to depart from the capital. Instead of obeying, they not only renewed their objections to the service-book, but denounced the bishops as the authors of an idolatrous liturgy, and of a set of canons subversive of the constitution of the church. The tumults were renewed, and henceforth it was observed that the higher classes mingled in them, as the supplicants continued to assemble in numbers ever increasing. As such assemblages were liable to censure, the malcontents made what appeared to be a very fair suggestion, to appoint representatives to transact their business with the privy-council, which did not object to the arrangement. The nobility, the clergy, the burgesses, and the country gentry, had thus each their representatives, who were called by the peculiar name of the Tables. Thus were these tumultuous meetings converted into something like a parliament, and the strength of the party was greatly increased. Charles had, in the meantime, the impolicy to issue an equivocal and doubtful declaration, expressing an abhorrence of popery, and a desire not to countenance anything, "unless conducive to the advancement of the true religion as professed at present." The supplicants would not take this as a withdrawal of the service-book—they said it was artfully prepared, so that when matters were smooth it might be held to apply to the service-book itself. They were justified in their suspicions, for the king gave the Earl of Traquair, who had gone to London, a proclamation adhering to the new form, and strongly condemning the supplicants, which was to be kept secret till it could be effectually used.

5. The Tables, who conducted their business with great ability and acuteness, kept spies at court, who furnished them with a copy of the secret proclamation. A number of the nobility, and especially those who possessed tithes or other property which had formerly belonged to the church, had now joined in the movement. While some of them were actuated

by zeal, others followed the no less powerful motive of selfish aggrandizement. They had for their leaders several able men, including Johnston of Wariston, the Lords Balmerino, Rothes, and Loudon; and they were afterwards joined by Argyle, who became their chief. At first, however, the most conspicuous among them all was Montrose, the great military leader, afterwards no less eminent as their implacable enemy and the fervid supporter of royalty.

The discovery of the secret proclamation only made the confederates more resolute. They summoned their friends from all parts of the country. To prevent their assembling, Traquair issued the proclamation at the several towns in the usual manner, by the attendance of the heralds, and the sound of trumpet. But wherever it was published, a deputation from the Tables attended and protested against it, reading and affixing to the market-cross a denunciation of the proceedings by which episcopacy had been established. If at an early period the service-book merely had been withdrawn, tranquillity might have been restored—a partial concession would now have been too late, since it was evident that, feeling their power, the presbyterian party were determined to employ it for the abolition of the entire episcopal system.

6. THE COVENANT.—It was at this juncture that the document known as the National Covenant was prepared by Johnston of Wariston and Alexander Henderson, which embodied the confession of faith and a protest against the late innovations. It was first publicly produced in the Greyfriars' Churchyard in Edinburgh, where multitudes flocked March } to sign it. Copies of it, with the names of its principal adherents attached, were sent over all Scotland in great numbers, and came back filled with signatures. Indeed, the effects said to have been produced throughout the country by this document were very unlike the reserved manner in which Scotsmen generally express their opinions. Those who had opportunities of observing record that it was received with shouts and tears of joy.

Thus the party was consolidating itself, while the king, who by a timely concession might have prevented an outbreak in Scotland, was doing nothing. Those who signed the covenant were called by their opponents Covenanters, and the term, intended as a reproach, long served to designate the more zealous presbyterian party in the country.

The most important officer at that time in Scotland was the lord high commissioner, who represented the king, as, in later times, the lord lieutenant has represented the monarch in



Ireland. After considerable delay, Charles conferred the appointment on the Marquis of Hamilton. The royal commissioner's conduct in his new position was strange and wavering. It was noticed, indeed, that he was a near heir to the Scottish crown, and hence his behaviour was attributed by many people to deep designs. As an indication of what he was likely to see in Scotland, he was met at his entrance to the capital by twenty thousand covenanters, of whom six hundred were clergymen. He held a parliament and General Assembly; the latter in the peculiar circumstances being the more important of the two. It met on the 21st November, in the venerable cathedral of Glasgow, which thus became the scene of considerable excitement and turbulence. The covenanters had laid their measures well, and formed a large majority of those present. The assembly proceeded boldly to assert its right to uproot the whole system of episcopacy which the two kings and their advisers had with so much pains and anxiety erected. For some time Hamilton countenanced their proceedings as the representative of majesty, but at last he proclaimed the meeting dissolved. The covenanters felt themselves, however, too strong to submit, and did not separate until they had undone the work of the previous forty years, rescinding the acts of assembly passed during that period, deposing the bishops, and protesting against the proceedings of the parliament, the king, and the privy-council, as illegal, in so far as they interfered with the privileges of the church.

7. It was now evident that the covenanters must support their position by the sword; and between the aristocracy who feared the loss of church property, and those who were zealous and honest presbyterians, they felt themselves quite strong enough to cope with the king. Their measures showed acuteness and energy. There were at that time many Scotsmen who had served in the German wars on the protestant side, and whose zeal could therefore be trusted to support the covenant. Many of these were recalled. Money was at the same time collected, and clothing and victuals were laid in. There was much zeal on one side, and none on the other; for the fortifications of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and other places, were speedily seized, and a well-disciplined army was embodied.

Charles, seeing that he would receive little assistance in Scotland, placed himself at the head of twenty-three thousand English loyalists and marched towards the border. The covenanters were led by Lesly, an old general trained by Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. While he proceeded to meet the king's

forces, Graham of Montrose went northwards, and impetuously falling on the town of Aberdeen—the only important place where the covenant was not received—compelled it to submit. The Marquis of Hamilton was sent up the Frith of Forth with a fleet to co-operate with the army; but when he came opposite to the port of Leith he found it securely fortified, through the prompt and indefatigable exertions of the people of that town and the neighbouring capital. It was said, indeed, that ladies of rank helped to carry stones and earth for the batteries. As the king's army advanced towards Berwick the national enthusiasm rose higher—it seemed, indeed, as if Scotland were protecting herself from a foreign invasion. Charles expected that when he crossed the border the covenanters would at once disperse or submit to his pleasure; but they showed a discipline and determination that evidently shook the nerves of his own troops, and he saw that a battle would probably end in his defeat. The covenanters were still respectful in the form of their demands, whatever the matter might be, and at length the king thought fit to treat with them. He would not consent to the complete abolition of episcopacy, nor would he acknowledge the legality of the last assembly, but he agreed to refer all questions to a new assembly and parliament. This was one of those insincere concessions which in the end ruined him. As he bound himself to nothing specific, he would insist afterwards on carrying out his own views if he should find himself strong enough to do so. The covenanters were aware of this, and took their measures accordingly. When the assembly met, it so far complied with the king's views as not to allude to the previous assembly as legal, but it proceeded to much the same conclusions. The parliament was proceeding in a like course when it was suddenly prorogued.

8. The Earls of Loudon and Dunfermline were sent as commissioners to London to vindicate the proceedings of the parliament; but they were not received, and Loudon was imprisoned on a charge of treason for corresponding with France. Charles, yielding to his pernicious councillors, had determined on war. The covenanters had expected this result, and were better prepared for it than he was. Their troops had separated with the view of reassembling, and were soon on their march to England. To obtain money to prosecute the war, Charles had to face an English parliament, which, still more unsatisfactory to him than the Scottish, postponed the supplies A. D. 1640. for the discussion of grievances, and was abruptly dissolved. His army, brought together with imperfect resources,

was poor and dispirited, though under able commanders. As the Scots advanced into England, they were met at Newburn by a party commanded by General Conway, whom they completely routed. Again the king found it necessary  
 28th Aug. } 1640. } to treat; and on the 2d of September commissioners from both sides commenced negotiations at Ripon, which were afterwards transferred to London. There the commissioners found the long parliament sitting, and the impeachment of Charles's favourite minister Strafford going on before it. The people with whom they went to treat were their friends, in so far as both were the opponents of the king. The Scottish commissioners were very steadily resolved not to leave anything to generalities, and Charles with extreme reluctance had to yield up point after point. Having obtained, through the brotherly assistance of the parliamentary party, all that they demanded for the preservation of their religion and liberties, they pleaded the great expense they incurred; and their English friends, considering them as having been employed in a good service, supported their right to remuneration. The House of Commons speedily voted £125,000 for the expenses of the army during five months, and £300,000 "as a friendly relief for the losses and necessities of their brethren of Scotland."

## EXERCISES.

1. What were the virtues of Charles I.? What defects had he? What views did he hold as to episcopacy? How were the aristocracy becoming alarmed? What was proposed to be done about the tithes? Who resisted the change? Mention an incident characteristic of the character of the nobility at this time. What measure was carried out?
2. What occurred in 1633? What gave offence in the king's journey? Who accompanied the king? What change did the king and Laud contemplate? How was the service-book prepared? What was the state of the knowledge in England about Scottish affairs?
3. On what day was the service-book appointed to be first used? Describe the scene which occurred in the church of St Giles. What steps did the clergy in general adopt? How did the privy-council act? How was Charles actuated?
4. Who were called the supplicants? What was the nature of the king's answer to the supplication? What new features did the tumults assume? How did the Tables come to be appointed? What impolitic act did the king commit? How did he show his duplicity?
5. How did the Tables obtain information? What were the motives of the leading men? Who were the chief leaders? How did they meet the king's proclamations?
6. What celebrated document was prepared? Who prepared it? What did it consist of? How was it signed? Who was appointed lord high commissioner? How did Hamilton conduct himself? How was

he received? Describe the proceedings of the General Assembly at Glasgow.

7. What arrangements did the covenanters make for the war? How did the king act? What was done at Aberdeen? How were preparations made at Leith? What measure was Charles driven to adopt? How did the General Assembly act?

8. How was London treated? What unwise determination did Charles adopt? How were his opponents prepared for it? What took place at Newburn? What arrangements were made for coming to terms? How did the covenanters receive aid in England?

## CHAPTER IX.

### FROM THE TREATY OF RIPON TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES I., A. D. 1641—1649.

Return of Charles to Scotland—Solemn League and Covenant—Rise of the Independents in England—Montrose takes Perth and Aberdeen—Defeats the Covenanters—Battle of Philiphaugh—Charles puts himself under the Protection of the Scottish Army—He is given up to the English—Cromwell defeats the Duke of Hamilton—Execution of Charles.

1. IN 1641, Charles returned to Scotland in circumstances very different from those in which he had paid his visit eight years previously. He would then make no concessions—he was now glad when any he could make were well received. He presided at a parliament which abolished the Lords of the Articles, restrained his prerogative in the creation of peers, required that the king's advisers should be persons having the confidence of parliament, and in various other matters curtailed the royal power. He who would not eight years ago allow freedom of worship to others, had now to ratify the covenant and conform to the presbyterian church. He had to confer posts and distinctions on those who had been mainly instrumental in subduing him, Lesly, the covenanting general, being made Earl of Leven; but he was unable to reward those who had devoted themselves to his own cause, and was glad when they escaped punishment. He returned to England to be met by still greater difficulties and calamities. The flames of war soon sprung forth; and during the

A. D. } short cessation of hostilities, called the Treaty of Ox-  
1642. } ford, both parties in England sought the intervention of the Scots.

SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.—Fallacious gleams of

prosperity seemed to give hope to the royal cause, and altogether it was a side which the covenanters had many inducements to adopt, for they had never agreed to call themselves republicans. But they knew how dangerous it was to trust to the sincerity of Charles, and feared that if they helped him to put down the parliament, they themselves, having taken arms against him, would be the next victims. They therefore deemed it more prudent to encourage a junction with the parliamentary party. Their alliance was attended by one of the most extraordinary events that ever occurred in the history of any nation. The covenanters had found themselves so successful in the conflict for presbyterianism, that they seemed to consider themselves the appointed missionaries for carrying the banner of the covenant over all the world. Instead of being content with a mere civil and military alliance, such as their friends in England desired, they insisted on the extension of the presbyterian system of church government to England. The men who negotiated the alliance on the part of the parliament were led more by political than religious bias. They saw that the covenanters had many valuable soldiers whom they could not easily spare out of their country at such a crisis; but to tempt them to part with twenty thousand troops, they offered to agree to a conformity of religion. The form in which this was embodied 17th Aug. } was the celebrated "Solemn League and Covenant."  
1643. } It was received in Scotland with intense enthusiasm, and was adopted by the English parliament. Thus the energy of a few men in a small obscure state appeared to have had the effect of subduing to their religious opinions a great kingdom which had heretofore followed a totally different system.

2. In the end, however, this alliance proved hollow. The great independent party, who would not yield submission either to bishops or presbyteries, was fast rising in England. The league and covenant stipulated that the Church of Scotland was to be maintained on its existing footing. As to the Church of England, it was provided that it should be reformed "according to the word of God, and the examples of the best reformed churches." These expressions the independents afterwards interpreted in their own way. In pursuance of the agreement, however, the parliamentary forces were joined by a well-disciplined and brave army of Scotsmen, upwards of twenty thousand strong, commanded by Lesly, earl of Leven, aided by his nephew David Lesly, a still abler commander. These troops greatly contributed to the parliamentary victory of Marston Moor.

MONTROSE.—But during the treaties on the border, the king

had managed to gain over to his interest the ablest of all the covenanting leaders, Graham, earl of Montrose. He was not a military disciplinarian, like the generals who had learned their profession under Gustavus Adolphus, so much as a man of original warlike genius, who could apply the most unpromising materials to his purpose. The regular trained soldiers looked upon the wild undisciplined Irishmen and Highlanders as contemptuously as we should now look on an army of New Zealanders. But Montrose knew their military ardour and endurance of fatigue; and thus to support the king's cause he procured a body of men from Ireland and united them with his Highland bands. He encountered many perilous adventures in finding his way from England to his army, having to adopt the disguise of a serving-man connected with the covenanting force as he passed through the Scottish Lowlands. To one accustomed to a properly appointed army, the ragged banditti, whom Montrose brought from the distant wilds of the Highlands, were no very encouraging sight; but there was a world of military enthusiasm burning within them, for they had not, like the Lowlanders, accustomed themselves to useful labour: war was their legitimate occupation, and plunder its wages.

3. Montrose's troops accumulated as he marched southwards. He gained a signal victory over the Earl of Tullibardine at Tippermuir, and inflicted a defeat on Lord Elcho near Perth, by which that city was obliged to capitulate. Argyle, however, advanced with a powerful force, and he was obliged to retreat. The great advantage of a Highland army, which had but little luggage, while the men themselves had few wants, was the celerity of its movements, and the rapidity with which it could cross mountains and suddenly appear in quarters where it was least expected. Montrose thus kept out of the way of the well-appointed troops of Argyle, and passed quickly from place to place, creating no less astonishment than terror. Following this system, he rapidly directed his march to Aberdeen. He found it not quite so undefended as he expected, since he had to encounter a force at the bridge over the Dee, commanded by Lord Lewis Gordon. It was dispersed by the impetuous attacks of his Celtic followers, and Aberdeen was at their mercy. The measure meted out to this town by Montrose has been considered peculiarly hard. The principal citizens, originally of strong episcopalian and royalist prepossessions, Montrose with his covenanting troops had subdued, giving the predominance to the presbyterian side. Being now at the head of a conquering host, he punished the

poor citizens for having yielded to him. Sir Walter Scott, a great admirer of Montrose, could not help, in his *Tales of a Grandfather*, characterizing the proceeding in the following strong terms :—

“ Stormed as it was by such a tumultuary army, Aberdeen and its inhabitants suffered greatly. Many were killed in the streets; and the cruelty of the Irish in particular was so great, that they compelled the wretched citizens to strip themselves of their clothes before they killed them, to prevent their being soiled with blood! The women durst not lament their husbands or their fathers slaughtered in their presence, nor inter the dead, which remained unburied in the streets until the Irish departed. Montrose necessarily gave way to acts of pillage and cruelty, which he could not prevent, because he was unprovided with money to pay his half-barbarous soldiery. Yet the town of Aberdeen had two reasons for expecting better treatment :—First, That it had always inclined to the king's party; and, secondly, That Montrose himself had, when acting for the covenanters, been the agent in oppressing for its loyalty the very city which his troops were now plundering on the opposite score.”

It was part of Montrose's original system of warfare that he made no difference between winter and summer, but with his hardy followers crossed mountain passes, and attacked fortified places, in the midst of the snow-storms and long nights of December. The Marquis of Argyle was quietly spending the winter of 1644 in his castle of Inverary, when he heard to his astonishment that Montrose with his wild bands had penetrated the difficult passes which separate the Argyle country from the eastern parts of Scotland. Completely defenceless, he took to flight in a fishing-boat, while Montrose's savage followers exterminated his clansmen and burned their houses. Montrose afterwards heard that Argyle had collected his forces at Inverlochy, near the present fortress of Fort-William, at the western end of the Caledonian Canal; and in the month of February, before the winter had much abated, he came upon the covenanting army by surprise. They would have been prepared for an enemy approaching them by the long glen leading towards Inverness; but Montrose took an unusual route over the shoulder of the great mountain Ben Nevis, and falling like a thunderstorm on his opponents, gained a complete victory, notwithstanding a brave resistance. The covenanting party, now feeling that they had acted with more ambition than prudence in sending their best soldiers to England, recalled two experienced generals—Urry and

Baillie; yet they were for some time unsuccessful against the  
 2d July } indefatigable Montrose, who gained one of his greatest  
 1645. } victories at Alford, in Aberdeenshire. His own loss  
 was very trifling, while a terrible slaughter took place among  
 the troops of Baillie, by whom he was opposed. Little more  
 15th Aug. } than a month afterwards, he gained a still greater  
 1645. } victory at Kilsyth, near Stirling.

4. Montrose was now almost master of Scotland; but a few fortified places, which were of more importance than a great extent of territory, still resisted him. From the peculiar nature of his troops, however, all these victories were of little service. In modern days the soldier must obey discipline, and, whether advancing or retreating, must do whatever his commander orders. In all modern European armies, soldiers require to go through a long system of training, so that from the mere effect of habit they may follow orders, and may not be led into rash attacks when they are valorous, and flights when they are timorous. Montrose's troops had not been thus disciplined. They could fight well, but each man was apt to fight on his own account and in his own way; and though their charge when they all rushed on was terrific, they did not follow up the battle they had gained. In fact, after each victory they generally dispersed to their homes in high spirits, to tell of their prowess, as if they had gained a prize at some competition of skill. Nor were they without many substantial tokens of their valour, for they had plundered wherever they went, and wished to take home the property they had accumulated. From their poverty, a small matter was of great importance among them, and many a sturdy warrior made his way over the hills with a table, a carpet, or a chair. Thus each success unaccountably seemed to weaken instead of strengthening the position of this able commander. He formed a proposal for crossing the border and joining the king's troops, but he was too feebly followed to execute it. He marched southwards, however, when a soldier able to cope with him was sent to command the covenanting troops. This was David Lesly, the nephew of the old general who first led the army towards England. His tactics were not unlike those of his opponent; for at a time when he was supposed to be on his march to the Highlands, he crossed the border hills, and came suddenly on the royalist army reposing in security at a place named Philiphaugh, on the banks of the Ettrick.  
 18th Sept. } Lesly burst on them through a mist, and, ill prepared  
 1645. } for an attack, they speedily gave way and fled. Montrose's power was now effectually broken; and though he kept



together a few followers among the Highland mountains, they were a desultory and feeble band. The covenanting party was now supreme in Scotland; and it is to be regretted that its victory was not adorned by toleration and humanity. These were virtues, however, at that day little known among people of any class of opinions, particularly when exhausted by a cruel civil war; and much sacrifice of life, both among the great and the obscure, followed the victory of Philiphaugh.

5. The principles of the covenanters, indeed, appeared at that time destined for universal triumph. An assembly of divines had been appointed to sit at Westminster for preparing a new directory of worship on the presbyterian principle. It contained some members from Scotland, among whom were Henderson, Baillie, Samuel Rutherford, and others. The Confession of Faith as finally ratified by this synod is still in use in the Church of Scotland, and in those which have separated from it. The principle, however, which was to check the power of the presbyterians, and indeed, so far as England was concerned, to overwhelm them, was now gaining strength. The assembly declared that church-government in the presbyterian form was of divine right; but in the parliament, where the strength lay with the independents, this doctrine was not ratified. Every victory that under their great leader Cromwell they gained over the royalists, of course tended to increase their power. At length, Charles was driven to the alternative of frankly submitting to such terms as they thought proper to dictate, or fleeing elsewhere. He chose the latter alternative; and the Scottish army having crossed the border to aid the English forces, he put himself under their protection. A more perplexing and unpleasant position for that army to occupy could not well be conceived, for, always adhering to the principle of loyalty, they were now required in very hazardous circumstances either to put their principle in practice or belie it. They remained for the most part neutral, neither troubling the king nor making any vigorous efforts for his protection. He was here safe to carry on negotiations with the conquerors, but they were not satisfactory; and the plain question at last came, What in the circumstances the Scots army should do with him? The result was one most humiliating to the national honour, and one on which few Scotsmen can ever reflect without pain. Had they resolved to try him before a tribunal as the English did, or to deliver him up without a consideration to his enemies, then there might have been hardship but not sordidness in their conduct. It

happened, however, at that time that the English parliament owed a considerable arrear of pay—about four hundred thousand pounds—to the Scottish army. Two treaties were made—one to give up the person of the king by the Scots, and the other to pay this money, of which an instalment was actually advanced by the English. Though the two were not avowedly connected, no one has doubted that the giving up 20th June } the king was part of the bargain for payment of the  
1647. } arrears.

6. The subsequent imprisonment and misfortunes of the king down to his death are matter belonging rather to the history of England than that of Scotland. It must be observed, that the Scots were not content with the sort of negative sanction he had given to their forms and church government. They required that he should absolutely bind himself to the covenant and the presbyterian forms; and not only so, but that he should extirpate all sectaries, or people who followed a different religious system. Had he agreed to these terms when he was in Scotland, the covenanters would in all human likelihood have been his good friends. When he was imprisoned he thought better of this proposal, and wished to accede to it; but with his unfortunate propensity for insincerely avoiding every obligation until it was forced on him, he was again too late. Indeed, at this time he showed his natural duplicity more strongly than ever; for he was in secret treaty with the English army, the English parliament, and the Scots, keeping his negotiation with each unknown to the others. This clandestine treaty with the Scots was called the Engagement; because the parties conducting it with them could not bind the country, but could only engage if possible to get him restored to the royal rank and power. This engagement became very acceptable to the moderate party among the presbyterians; but it is the calamity of civil war to make parties, when once they have separated, become more and more estranged from each other. The more violent of the clergy thundered from their pulpits against the engagement, as imperilling the safety of the true church. Troops were collected for the purpose of fighting in the cause of royalty, which was alleged now to be the same as that of the covenant; but the opposition of the violent party was fatal to the attempt. They drew a strong practical argument, indeed, on the danger of trusting to the king's promises, from the number of royalists, all at the same time Roman-catholics or episcopalians, who were coming forward to join them. A very small and ill-ordered force, with the Duke of Hamilton at its head, was sent to England. It reached Preston

without accomplishing much, and there Cromwell, attacking it with his usual impetuosity, split it in two, and sent each half flying in a separate direction. The duke with a few followers, after having for some time wandered through the country, surrendered. He saw that he was not to be considered as a prisoner of war, but as a criminal; and knowing the fate that awaited him, he contrived to escape. He was afterwards apprehended wandering in the streets of London and seeking shelter, and being tried by the high court of justice for traitorously making war on the people of England, he was condemned and executed. His history and fate in many respects resembled those of the master whom he closely followed to a bloody grave. In an age of strong purposes and resolute opinions, he tried what is commonly called playing fast and loose. Had he taken a decided part in Scotch affairs when the troubles broke out, he might have influenced the whole destinies of his country. His uncertainty and want of candour were attributed by his enemies to a deep plot to accomplish his succession to the crown, to which he was closely allied. Cromwell now passed the border, and marched to Edinburgh, where he was received rather as a friend and co-adjutor than as an enemy.

Charles the First was at length condemned to death by the English High Court of Justice, as a tribunal set up for the purpose of judging him was called. The Scots had directly no concern in his trial, though they had unfortunately delivered him into the hands of his enemies. The presbyterians still professed themselves the supporters of legitimate monarchy, provided it went along with their own religion. Commissioners had been sent to protest against his execution, but they were met in a manner that savoured of contempt. The judgment of the court was put in force, and the king was beheaded on the 30th of January 1649.

#### EXERCISES.

1. How was Charles's visit in 1641 different from his former one? What was done by parliament? What humiliations was the king subjected to? What fears prevented the covenanters from adopting the cause of the king? What feelings had the covenanters? What was the solemn league and covenant?
2. What new party rose to defeat the ends of the alliance? What equivocal resolution did the independents adopt? What military operations were carried on? Whom did the king gain over? Of what materials did Montrose make an army?
3. What did he achieve near Perth? How were the Highlanders peculiarly adapted for his method? How did Montrose treat Aber-

deen? What was peculiar to his method of warfare? How did he gain a victory at Inverlochy?

4. How were his victories unprofitable? What bold project did Montrose conceive? What general was opposed to him? What tactics did Leasly adopt? Where did he gain a great victory? What effect had it on Montrose?

5. What indicated the predominance of the opinions of the covenanters? What was adopted by the assembly of divines at Westminster? How did the English parliament act? How did Charles act towards the Scots? How was he treated while in Scotland? Describe the negotiations and arrangements connected with his being given up to his enemies in England.

6. What line of conduct had tended to his misfortunes? On what principle did he attempt negotiations after he was imprisoned? How did he show his duplicity? What engagement was entered into? What party took offence at it? What project was formed for aiding the king? What was the result of the Duke of Hamilton's march into England? How was Charles I. tried? When was he beheaded?

## CHAPTER X.

### THE COMMONWEALTH, A. D. 1649—1660.

Montrose—His Rising and Execution—Prince Charles in Scotland—Religious Parties—Cromwell marches against the Covenanters—Battle of Dunbar—The Remonstrants—The Start—Coronation of Prince Charles—Battle of Worcester—Insurrection in the Highlands—Scotland during the Protectorate—Dissensions in the Church—Intrigues of General Monk—The Restoration.

1. ARGYLE and the other leaders of the presbyterians now resolved at once to proclaim and adopt the young prince as their king with the title of Charles II., provided he would conform to their discipline and doctrine. Commissioners were sent by them to treat with him in Holland, where he had taken refuge. While he was communicating with them, he received offers of a different kind from Montrose and other zealous royalists, who advised him not to condescend to make terms, but to trust his cause to the warlike prowess of his true friends. Quite careless about covenants and obligations, Charles would readily have joined with either or with both, as might seem to give him the best chance of a throne with its influence and means of enjoyment. In the meantime, however, it was so managed that the presbyterian advances were ingeniously postponed until the result might be seen of the daring projects of Montrose. Accompanied by some royalists and foreign

April } troops, he left Hamburg, and made a descent on the  
1650. } Orkney Islands. As he passed through the country, he met with little encouragement, and having been defeated in Ross-shire, he fell into the hands of the Laird of Assint, who, probably in imitation of a more important proceeding, delivered him over to his enemies for a reward of four hundred bolls of meal. The treatment he received was not creditable to the ruling party. He was dragged through the principal towns of Scotland, in a manner to be stared at by the people as an object of ignominy. The insults were augmented as he entered Edinburgh. Placed on a cart or waggon, and with his arms pinioned, he sat on a high bench, so that all the people might see him; while the executioner and other of the more despised public functionaries attended on him. Montrose had been a cruel and ruthless man, but it was a great mistake to suppose that these insults would awaken him to a just sense of his conduct. On the contrary, all these efforts at degradation would only make a man of courage and haughty temper like Montrose more proud of what he had done, and more anxious to repeat his outrages on his persecutors. There is a balcony in front of an ancient house in the Canongate, where it is said that Argyle and his relations indecently triumphed over the fallen warrior as he was dragged past; but it is probable that the story was chiefly the effect of imagination, arising from the fact that Argyle occupied the house in question. Montrose was executed on the 21st of May 1650, and whatever may be said of the principles of his life, it cannot be denied that he met death with the calmness of a hero.

The young prince, seeing the failure of this attempt, had no hesitation in closing the bargain with the commissioners of the presbyterian party; and the arrangement he made with them has been known as the treaty of Breda. He passed over to Scotland, where he was entirely in the hands of the rigid covenanting party, for they would not allow the royalists, or even the moderate party called the Engagers, to have the slightest voice in matters connected with the government. The sole conditions on which they would treat with him were, that he must accept the covenant, and enforce it, along with the presbyterian system of church government as administered by the spiritual courts. Although he agreed to these conditions, he used to say "that presbyterianism was not a religion for a gentleman;" and it was in the reckless spirit of contempt and utter carelessness of all solemn feeling that the gay and dissipated youth agreed to whatever was set before him. It is not easy to conceive anything more in

contrast with the grave, stern, and rigidly moral ministers of the church, than this princely youth, whose life had hitherto been one of idle folly, and whose religion, so far as he had any, leant to Catholicism. The clergy must have easily seen how little he had in common with them. Yet a certain pride and self-sufficiency, arising perhaps from their eminent success in all they had undertaken, made them try very seriously and earnestly to convert him into a sound presbyterian. The plans they adopted were not such as a man of the world would think judicious. They overwhelmed him with sermons of unprecedented length, in which they did not fail to attack the opinions and the conduct of his parents, and, what he would consider more intolerable, to make very free with his own character. They sternly reproved the levities from which he could not restrain himself even when he was among them, much as it was his interest to be cautious. They resolved indeed, that he should go through a formal penance for the sins he had committed and the false religious opinions he had entertained. To what sort of arrangement these anomalous discussions might have led it is hard to say, but a storm was approaching which scattered before it all hopes of a satisfactory settlement.

2. BATTLE OF DUNBAR.—Those who had in England brought the king to the block and abolished royalty, were not disposed to let his son recover undisputed authority in Scotland, and Cromwell was sent northwards at the head of an army of independents. There were in Scotland three different parties, who might have joined in opposing him—the extreme covenanters, the moderate men, and the royalists or remains of Montrose's followers. But the first party would admit of no amalgamation with the others. They considered that all power and authority were put into their hands, and that they were quite strong enough to use them. Protesting against prelacy on the one hand and sectarianism on the other, they would not join with the prelatists against the sectarians, nor with the sectarians against the prelatists. This party had still much enthusiasm and strength within itself, and it made arrangements to meet the great conqueror of the age, which in themselves were both bold and wise. Under General Lesly, a line of defences was drawn round Edinburgh and Leith, which Cromwell with all his skill and impetuosity could not break through, though he tried it both on the east and on the west. He appeared to be for the first time in his life completely baffled. Requiring to hold free communication with his fleet, which rode in the Frith of Forth, he found it necessary to

retreat to Dunbar, and would have passed thence back into England, but Lesly formed the bold resolution of stopping his progress. For this purpose he occupied an almost impregnable position among the passes of the Muirfoot Hills, which there join the sea. The two armies now opposed to each other were actuated by strong religious motives. They were in some respects so like, that their very phraseology was the same; but they differed utterly on matters of church government. Thus was exhibited the melancholy spectacle of men who spoke the same tongue, and held the same protestant faith, prepared to meet in deadly strife for a difference of opinion on the externals of religion. It was from this external difference, however, that the fate of the war was decided. In Cromwell's army the clergy were allowed no influence. The commanders were also the exhorters, and they took care not to let their religious observances interfere with the best mode of gaining a battle. In the Scottish camp, however, the clergy ruled the skilful general. They felt so sure of the triumph of their cause, that they spurned the cautions of the veteran Lesly, and compelled him to leave his impregnable position and descend into the plain. When Cromwell saw this infatuated movement he cried out, "The Lord hath delivered them into my hands." Just as he marched up with his veteran Ironsides, the sun began to rise in splendour above the German Ocean, when, as if by a sort of poetic inspiration, he shouted to the troops, "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered." Immediately his invocation seemed to be obeyed. The charge was so impetuous

3d Sept. } that all the skill and courage of Lesly availed not,  
1650. } and his army was put to rout.

3. Once within the country, and possessing a powerful force, the independents whom Cromwell led were naturally joined by those who were of the same opinion in Scotland. At the same time a portion of the covenanters held that the victory of Cromwell was not owing to superiority in arms, but was a punishment to their own party for having espoused the cause of a prince who had so long been a malignant, as the supporters of episcopacy were called. These formed themselves into a distinct body called Remonstrants, who were equally opposed to the royalists, to the moderate engagers, to the covenanters who espoused royalty, and to Oliver Cromwell. Although thus isolated, they performed some considerable military feats before their power was extinguished. Many of those who remained, having a fellow feeling with the independents, then joined Cromwell's army.

The presbyterians, who were friendly to Charles, still held together north of the Forth, and were resolved on having him crowned. He himself, however, grew heartily sick of his position, and attempted to make his escape, but finding the wild Highland moors still more unpleasant than the presbyterian preachers, he was easily induced to return. His attempt received the name of "The Start." At length, on the 1st of January 1651, he was formally crowned at Scone, where so many of his ancestors received the national diadem. He can scarcely have felt the circumstances of the event agreeable. It was preceded by a day of fasting and humiliation, avowedly held for his own and his ancestors' sins, and it was accompanied by the confirmation of the covenant. The crown was placed on his head by one whose own was forfeited at the restoration—the Marquis of Argyle.

WORCESTER.—Cromwell, accustomed to English warfare, felt cramped and impeded by the natural difficulties of the country he had invaded—the mountains, friths, lakes, and morasses. He was more than a month in full possession of the eastern districts south of the Forth ere he could penetrate farther. When he succeeded in making a lodgement on the northern shore, the young king, who felt his danger, showed more spirit than he did on any other occasion, and by forced and secret marches passed through the west of Scotland, and entered England to unite his Scottish army with that of his friends in the south. His presbyterian followers, however, had little inclination for such a junction—only a few of them followed, and these were dispirited and depressed. It was in such circumstances that Charles encountered Cromwell in the battle  
 3d Sept. } of Worcester, where his own fate and that of his  
 1651. } house for a time at least were sealed.

4. Monk, afterwards the celebrated Duke of Albemarle, was now left in command in Scotland. He found little difficulty in dispersing the scattered remnant of the presbyterian troops, and reducing the few places of strength which held out. Some very interesting incidents were connected with the siege of Dunnottar. This castle, the ruins of which at the present day are an object of attraction to the traveller along the eastern coast, consisted of a large range of buildings, built on a high rock, nearly perpendicular towards the sea, and separated from the land by a cleft. It was thought that no safer place could be found for the regalia of Scotland, consisting of the crown, part of which was as old as Robert the Bruce's time, the sceptre, and the sword of state. In those days, and even in later times, these were looked on not as mere baubles, or even



insignia of kingly rank, but as the tokens of national independence, and extreme anxiety was felt that they should not be removed to London. As the English pressed the siege hard, however, it was felt that they incurred great risk of capture, and a plan was devised for their removal and concealment. Mrs Grainger, the wife of the minister of the neighbouring parish of Kinneff, undertook this dangerous project. She stated that she had a certain quantity of hards or bundles of hemp in the castle, which she asked leave of the besiegers to remove. She was permitted to do so, and the regalia were concealed among the hemp, which was openly carried through the camp. The minister dug a hole beneath his pulpit, where he hid these priceless relics, visiting them from time to time, and renewing their coverings, lest they might be injured by the damp earth. The only other warlike operation of consequence was the capture of the town of Dundee, which offered a tough resistance. The high Gothic square tower attached to the church was fortified, and served as a sort of castle. Many of the inhabitants were killed in its defence; and when the town was taken, they were subjected to such cruelties as were too often witnessed in Cromwell's wars.

A standing army of ten thousand men was left to keep Scotland in awe, and it was determined that their influence should be felt not only in the civilized low country, but in those remote districts of the Highlands and other mountain ranges where the kings of Scotland had scarcely ever had any but a nominal authority. For this purpose parties were sent into the far wilds of Inverness-shire and the other northern counties to dismantle the fortifications of the chiefs, seize their arms, and destroy the forests in which they lurked. It was not to be expected that men who had successfully maintained their independence against the sovereign of Scotland should at once tamely submit to the domination of strangers. An insurrection was attempted, in which the Earls of Glencairn and Balcarras, along with Cameron of Lochiel, a ferocious leader of the wildest banditti of the mountaineers of the northwest, took the lead. They were joined by a romantic royalist named Wogan, who penetrated from England with a few personal followers. A considerable body of discontented men, almost all Highlanders, was soon collected, but there was no military genius like that of Montrose to guide them. Every leader was himself a sort of petty prince, and too proud and conceited to yield to the will of a single commander. General Middleton was commissioned by the exiled prince to lead them; but even the authority of him whom they counted their king

was insufficient to overcome the wilfulness of these chiefs. Glencairn, rather than submit to one whom he deemed of lower rank, deserted the enterprise; others followed his ex-  
 July } ample; and those who remained, a disunited band of  
 1654. } half-armed mountaineers, were easily dispersed.

5. THE PROTECTORATE.—While England remained under the authority of a parliament, its government desired to form a union with Scotland, by which the whole island should have one legislative body. The Scottish people, and especially the church, were slow to respond to such a proposal, and the proceedings were stopped by Oliver Cromwell's obtaining the supreme authority in England with the title of Protector. Monk remained intrusted with the military command of the country, and strong fortresses were built in several places to overawe the disaffected. These were very different in point of strength from the castles of the nobility and the Highland chiefs, which were excellent places of refuge against feudal enemies provided with musketry only, but were utterly unfit to stand against artillery. Cromwell had to teach some of the owners of these old fortified houses the difference between an army with engineers such as he commanded, and the irregular bands of some domestic enemy, whose whole artillery might consist of one or two blunderbusses carried by men on horseback. The huge square tower of Borthwick Castle, which could have resisted any of these marauding attacks for ever, was attempted to be held against Cromwell; and the way in which his cannon peeled off the outer tier of stones, and split the whole tower from top to bottom after a short cannonade, may still be seen. The owners of such houses must have felt themselves truly helpless in the neighbourhood of his great forts bristling with cannon; and he effectually bridled the Highlanders by having one of his principal fortresses at Inverness, while he converted the castle of Inverlochy, at the western end of the glen through which the Caledonian Canal now passes, into another.

In the sort of legislative assembly which the protector professed to hold by his "instrument of government," Scotland had thirty members; but few of them were Scotsmen, for both presbyterians and royalists had a prejudice against serving in this body. The affairs of the country were, however, well conducted. Their management was put under a council of state, consisting of Englishmen and Scotsmen, but of whom the former were by far the majority. Under their auspices very considerable reforms were achieved. A new arrangement was made for taking the value of all the land, for the purpose

of adjusting the taxes. Statistical inquiries were made as to the actual trade and capabilities of the country. The system of registration applicable to landed property was improved; aid was given to the universities; and education very generally promoted. At the same time the authority of the landed proprietors and chiefs over their vassals and followers was checked and nearly suppressed for the time. A new method was adopted for the administration of justice. The court of session was superseded, and a body of commissioners was appointed in their stead, who were commonly called the English judges, but who in reality consisted both of Englishmen and Scotsmen,—the latter being taken from the lords of session. They administered justice very impartially—indeed it was said with regard to them, that they had no merit in this, as they had not “friends” or relations whom they could serve.

6. Probably the clergy felt the humiliation of Cromwell's rule more than even the gentry and the Highland chiefs. He was essentially tolerant—at least to all the protestant denominations, so long as they did not meddle with politics and interfere with his government. He was therefore ever disposed to countenance them, or at least leave them unharmed, when they restricted themselves to the teaching of religion and the visitation of their flocks, but he was not a friend to their assembling together and making themselves formidable by combination in church courts. In order to repair the disasters of Dunbar two resolutions had been passed at Perth, summoning all Scotchmen, even the malignants or ultra-royalists, to take up arms. Against these resolutions the strict presbyterians protested, and hence the country was divided into two extreme parties. Between the resolutionists and protesters, as they were called, the conflict daily waxed fiercer; and as the former were the majority, they sent circulars throughout the land advising that none of their opponents should be elected to the General Assembly, then on the point of meeting. This was resented as an undue interference with presbyterian liberty and equality. Many books and pamphlets were written on the subject, and Cromwell saw that the conflict was likely to shake the stability of the government. He sent Sir Henry Vane, with other commissioners, to regulate the church. They closed the Assembly, placing sentries at the door to prevent entrance. But it was part of their ingenious plan to leave the inferior courts untouched, that the disputants might waste their fervour in detail: thus neither party got the command of the other by a general majority throughout the nation, for if the one had it in one presbytery,

the other might have it in another. The claim of the patronage of churches, which had been exercised by the descendants of the founder, or by others connected with him, had been abolished during the conflict for the supremacy of the covenant. There were great controversies in the parishes between the supporters of the two parties. These were all the more bitter because there was no general authority to control them; but the same circumstance confined the quarrels to the parishes, and prevented them from swelling into a national dispute which might have affected the whole country. Burnet, the historian of the events of the period, says, "Both sides studied, when any church became vacant, to get a man of their own party to be chosen to succeed in the election: and upon these occasions many tumults happened; in some of them stones were thrown and many were wounded, to the great scandal of religion. In all these disputes the protesters were the fiercer side, for being less in numbers, they studied to make that up with their fury." It was another part of the policy of Cromwell's government not to allow the proceedings of the church courts to be put in force by the civil power, so that they had no effect on those against whom they were launched, save in so far as they were acknowledged or respected. This policy was a prudent one for the government in preserving it from trouble, but it only made the provincial church courts more bitter in their divisions and hostilities.

On the whole, the country prospered during Cromwell's sway. Under its kings it had never enjoyed so long a period of peace and order; and the men who would at other times have been fighting or plundering, found it more advantageous to follow productive callings. The country was more severely and closely taxed than it had been under its legitimate sovereigns, but it made more money by peaceful industry, and could more easily afford to pay these exactions. The historians of the period generally attribute this prosperity to the money spent by the garrisons of soldiers dispersed through the country, but it is much more likely to have been owing to the peaceful industrious habits acquired by the people. "There was good justice done," says Burnet, "and vice was suppressed and punished; so we always reckon these eight years of usurpation a time of great peace and prosperity."

7. GENERAL MONK.—When Cromwell died in September 1658, his son Richard was for some time supported as his successor. There were various parties prepared to struggle for the supremacy, and several ambitious individuals scheming to employ them for the purpose of obtaining the chief command in

Britain. But there was one who, instead of seeking empire for himself, thought how he might best employ his power in making way for the restoration of the royal family—a less ambitious object to aim at, but one more likely to secure permanent station and rank to himself. This was General Monk, who commanded the forces in Scotland, an officer much respected by his troops, whom he had kept in good order and discipline. He held himself aloof from the parties who were struggling for supremacy in England; but when he saw that the authority of Richard Cromwell was becoming weak, while no other power was likely to predominate, he set his army in motion towards London.

He found the government in the hands of the remnant of the long parliament. The citizens of London had opposed a tax laid on by this body, and Monk was ordered to punish them by breaking down their city gates, and subjecting them to military control. He began this operation, but did not carry it out; for in the middle of it he had found means, through his wary inquiries, of knowing that the safest game he could play was to have a free parliament assembled, which would in all probability restore the exiled prince as Charles II. When this parliament met, it was at the command of Monk, who took his own time for bringing before it a message from the exiled prince, promising very favourable terms to all parties. Although he was a helpless exile, dependent on the proceedings of Monk and others, yet it was always the policy for the legitimate representatives of crowned heads to speak as if they were actually in power, and therefore Charles did not supplicate to be restored to the throne of his father; but, as if he were a real king, he pronounced in an authoritative manner that he would be lenient to those who had rebelled against him. His promises were not very faithfully kept; but he was a good-natured thoughtless man, and it was rather in consequence of these peculiarities than of any cruelty or treachery in him, that so many of his political antagonists perished at the beginning of his reign.

#### EXERCISES.

1. What offers did the exiled prince entertain from different quarters? Give an account of Montrose's progress in the north. Give an account of the conclusion of his career. What treaty was entered into by the prince? How did his habits contrast with the persons he came in contact with in Scotland?

2. What prevented the arrangements between Charles II. and his presbyterian supporters in Scotland from being effective? How were the parties in Scotland divided at this time? How was Cromwell baffled?

fled in his attempts on Edinburgh? Describe his position before the battle of Dunbar. How was the battle of Dunbar lost to the Scottish troops?

3. What position did the Remonstrants take up? What attempt was known by the name of "The Start"? What difficulties did Cromwell experience in Scotland? What bold military operation did Charles attempt? What was its result?

4. Who was left in command? Give an account of an interesting event connected with the siege of Dunnottar. What measures were taken with the Highland chiefs? Give an account of an attempted insurrection.

5. What did the English parliament desire? How was the attempt stopped? What means were taken to overawe the country? Mention an instance of Cromwell's vigorous way of attacking the feudal nobility. How were the affairs of the country conducted? What reforms were achieved? In what way was justice administered?

6. How did Cromwell act towards the clergy? What conflict took place between church parties? What measure was adopted as to church courts? What effect had it? What was the general state of the country during Cromwell's supremacy?

7. When did Cromwell die? By whom was he succeeded? What was Richard Cromwell's character? How did Monk proceed? What state of matters did he find at London? What arrangements were made for the restoration of royalty?

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE REIGN OF CHARLES II., A. D. 1660—1685.

The Restoration—James Sharpe—The Rescissory Act—Episcopacy restored—Act of Glasgow—Conventicles—The Drag-net Act—The Pentland Rising—Martyrdom of Hugh M'Kail—The First Indulgence—Graham of Claverhouse and Lauderdale—Persecution in the West—Highland Host—Murder of Sharpe—Battle of Bothwell Bridge—The Duke of York—The Cameronians—Cargill—The Test-oath—Escape of Argyle—Death of Charles II.

1. THE RESTORATION.—Charles II. arrived in London on the 29th of May 1660, a day which has ever since been kept as a holiday. The harshness of Cromwell's rule, and the uncertainty which followed it, had made the English people eager for the restoration, and their rejoicings were enthusiastic. With their king, however, they expected what they had still more reliance on—a free parliament. Charles forgot this understood condition of his restoration to the sovereignty of his fathers, and was well nigh suffering for his carelessness; but the punishment fell on his brother, who designedly attempted, as will be afterwards mentioned, to suppress these free institutions.

The restoration was viewed with less extravagant delight in Scotland. The majority of the presbyterians had never taken an absolute stand against monarchy, and the accession of a legitimate king was therefore in accordance with their principles; but they would have preferred a ruler who, like the husband of Charles's niece, William of Orange, was more of their own way of thinking. From a monarch who was dissolute and careless, and whom they strongly suspected of having a leaning to Romanism, the rigid presbyterians had little to expect. In the treaty by which the Scots had agreed to receive him as their king when his father was beheaded, he had sworn to the covenant; but this did not prevent him from undermining it and the whole presbyterian system. He even equivocated on the matter, for he agreed to preserve the form of church government as established by law in Scotland. The presbyterians thought he meant their system, while he was preparing to deny that it was legally established.

The Resolutionists, who formed the strongest and most compact body of the presbyterians, had sent one of their number, whom they deemed a trustworthy man, to the court of Charles II., that he might attend to their interest. His name was James Sharpe. He stayed longer than was expected, and his letters gradually became very perplexing to those who had commissioned him to plead their cause. At length it was ascertained that episcopacy was to be restored in Scotland, and that Sharpe was appointed Archbishop of St Andrews. The amnesty for offences, which the restored monarch had promised to England, did not technically extend to the Scottish rebels, as they were termed, and some victims were made, the most distinguished of whom were Argyle, Warriston, and the Reverend James Guthrie. In order to make short work with everything that had been done both in political and ecclesiastical matters, all the acts of parliament passed since the year 1633 were, in the language of that day, "rescinded,"—that is, they were declared not to be laws, and not binding on any one, so that the Scottish statute-book shows a complete blank from the year 1633 to the year 1661. It was impossible, however, thus negatively to pass over the valuable regulations under the commonwealth for the registration of property, the collection of the revenue, and other such useful purposes; and therefore Charles the Second's parliaments were for some time chiefly occupied in passing acts to carry out the laws which were declared to be rescinded. The main object, however, of the wholesale destruction of the legislation of nearly thirty years was to save all troublesome discussion

about the abolition of the presbyterian system, for the church was at once placed in the position to which it had been brought by Charles the First when he paid his earliest visit to Scotland. Perhaps so reckless a method of accomplishing a political end was never elsewhere exemplified in a legislative body; and one cannot help believing the accounts of some contemporary writers, that most of the members of parliament were almost always intoxicated, and that the act rescissory was little better than an audacious drunken frolic.

2. EPISCOPACY RESTORED.—Still, however, though the acts creating the presbyterian system had been all destroyed, the ministers appointed under them were in existence all over the country, and to convert them at once into episcopalians was beyond human power, while it might be both dangerous and difficult to displace them. The king, however, found unscrupulous advisers prepared for any desperate enterprise. Lauderdale, afterwards so celebrated for his cruelty, had, like Sharpe, been commissioned to further the interests of the presbyterians, and he returned from London their bitter enemy. John, earl of Middleton, appointed the lord high commissioner, was a dissolute soldier, whose intemperance is said to have been conspicuously shown during the transaction of the most important business. It was necessary for even these ready tools to take some time for their arrangements; and accordingly the earliest act passed touching the church bore plausibly that, “as to the government of the church, his majesty will make it his care to settle and secure the same in such a frame as shall be most agreeable to the word of God, most suitable to monarchical government, and most complying with the public peace and quiet of the kingdom,”—the existing church courts being permitted in the meantime to perform their functions, notwithstanding the act rescissory. The next step, for anticipating all those who might object to the king’s title because he had not taken the covenant, was to require every clergyman on being presented to a charge to take the oath of allegiance.

ACT OF GLASGOW.—It was not until the second parliament of Charles II. met in 1662 that the work of fully re-establishing prelacy was completed by an act “for the Restitution and Re-establishment of the Ancient Government of the Church  
1st Oct. 1662. } by Archbishops and Bishops.” Immediately after this, a violent injunction of the privy-council was issued, commanding that all clergymen who did not receive spiritual induction into their livings in the episcopal manner should be removed by military force. The council passed this act in



Glasgow; and Kirkton, a covenanting historian, says, that "there was never a man among them but he was drunk at the time, except only Lee." Never did the consequences of any proceeding show so lamentably the mischief that may be done by rash and hasty measures.

3. THE CONVENTICLES.—The loyal satisfaction with which the people hailed the restoration would no doubt have prompted them to receive any kind of moderate measures with favour. They were somewhat tired of the domineering pride which the clergy had shown in their hour of triumph, and had seen in their defeat by Cromwell that they were not infallible. In fact there never was less presbyterian enthusiasm in the country than at the period of the restoration; and from this apathy the government made the gross mistake that they might insult the covenant and the presbyterian system with impunity. Their conduct in fact revived the departed zeal with double fervour. It was believed that none, or but a very small section, of the clergy would risk the loss of their livings by refusing to conform with the episcopal order. A number, however, amounting to 350, at once abandoned their benefices and the means of subsistence. The flocks, who had been indifferent before, now became zealous in the cause of their suffering ministers. The feeling which thus spread through the laymen of the country, was aggravated by a declaration or test against the covenant, appointed to be taken by all persons in public employments, in this form: "I do sincerely affirm and declare that I judge it unlawful to subjects to take up arms against the king, or those commissioned by him; and that all these gatherings, convocations, petitions, protestations, and erecting and keeping of council tables, that were used in the beginning and for carrying on of the late troubles were unlawful and seditious: And particularly, that these oaths, whereof the one was called 'The National Covenant,' and the other entitled 'A Solemn League and Covenant,' were and are in themselves unlawful oaths." Even those who were not very zealous for the covenant were scarcely inclined thus broadly to condemn it, especially if they had at one time subscribed it. Thus the people in general had daily more and more reason to sympathize with their clergy. These in their turn met those who adhered to them in private dwellings; but as the numbers who went to hear their exciting discourses increased, they were obliged to perform the services in the fields, seeking, after they were persecuted, the wild recesses of distant mountains. The ecclesiastical courts took upon them to punish with fine and imprisonment the ministers who presided at and the people who attended these Con-

venticles, or open-air meetings. But as it was difficult to discover the remote solitudes in which they were held, their frequenters taking steps to protect themselves from surprise by posting sentinels on the neighbouring hills, the extraordinary method was therefore adopted of punishing those who absented themselves from episcopal worship. Accordingly an act, known as "the bishops' drag-net," was passed in 1663, "against Separation and Disobedience to Ecclesiastical Authority," by which those who "ordinarily and wilfully withdraw and absent themselves from the ordinary meetings in their own parish-church for divine worship on the Lord's day" should be liable to heavy penalties, according to their degree, beginning with noblemen and landed gentry, who were to lose a fourth of their yearly rents, and ending with burgesses, who were to forfeit their privileges of trading. To second the authority of the privy-council and the courts, a body of troopers, who had been brought up in the licentious habits of the French soldiery, were let loose upon the country; and their unscrupulous rapacity, with their vices and their blasphemy, were a sore evil to the covenanters, now becoming more rigid and austere than ever. Sir James Turner, a singularly reckless, cruel, and rapacious commander, was invested by the privy-council with strong powers for coercion, and sent into the western districts, where he fully employed them. The apostate Sharpe, who was the prime mover in all this cruelty and injustice, was not content with such severities as the privy-council and the ordinary courts of law consented to inflict. He joined with Rothes, who had a spirit as vindictive as his own, in establishing a court of ecclesiastical commission in which he could act without control. It was subject to none of the forms and regulations which usually protect people from gross injustice even under bad judges, but acted in almost every case according to the despotic inclinations of the commissioners.

4. At length this combination of legal and military oppression could be no longer tolerated. In the autumn of 1666, a few peasants in Dumfriesshire resisted a military party with so much success that they were emboldened to adhere together, and their numbers increasing, they marched to the town of Dumfries, where they captured their persecutor, Sir James Turner. They now formed a considerable body, but no person of importance in the country joined them. Two men of humble rank, named Learmont and Wallace, took the command, and led them in good order towards Edinburgh, where they expected to be joined by a large number of partisans. In this, however, they were mistaken. A strong force was sent against them

under General Dalziel of Binns, a fanatic in loyalty, who had allowed his beard to grow uncut from the day of the execution of Charles I. He was further noted for his remorseless cruelty, being originally of a savage nature, and having learned various means of inflicting torture while serving in the Russian wars. The insurgents, dispirited and much diminished in numbers, were retreating westwards, when they were overtaken by Dalziel at a point called Rullion Green, on the slope of the Pentland Hills. They resisted with great spirit; but, being tired and undisciplined, they were soon borne down by the well appointed cavalry of their opponents. This rising was an excuse for fresh oppressions. Not only were those actually found in arms put to death, but many persons who had done nothing more than preach or exclaim against the severities of the government were involved in the same destruction. The sympathy of all who read of these matters has been enlisted especially in favour of one young clergyman named Hugh M'Kail, on account of his blameless life and the Christian calmness with which he met his death after being tortured. The frequent infliction of torture at that period was a great national scandal. The chief instrument used in its application was termed the Boot, the leg of the victim being placed in an iron case shaped like this article of dress, and iron wedges driven in until the flesh was crushed, and sometimes the bone broken. Afterwards, during the administration of the Duke of York, another instrument was invented, less clumsy, but capable of inflicting as severe agony, called the Thumbikin. The thumb was placed between two small iron bars, when screws were forced into the joints until the agony was increased to the utmost that the human frame could bear.

5. THE FIRST INDULGENCE.—At length representations having been made to the king that his servants were converting Scotland into a savage wilderness, some alterations were made with the view of adopting a more lenient policy. Sharpe received instructions to cease from interfering with public affairs, and to retire to his diocese. Middleton was succeeded as lord high commissioner by Lauderdale, who, having been himself a presbyterian, was expected to be more merciful. In conjunction with Tweeddale he made an attempt to conciliate the outraged people by an indulgence which permitted the presbyterian clergy to return to the empty  
 7th June } churches, and awarded them a small stipend for their  
 1669. } sustenance. The upper classes took advantage of this boon, and it really appeared at first as if the discontents would be allayed; but these symptoms were fallacious. It

would be difficult to say what influence such a modified measure would have had at first on the zealous covenanters; but after eight years of persecution it came too late. Their prejudices and antipathies had been formed and confirmed, and the people would not listen to the few clergymen who took advantage of the indulgence, but still betook themselves to those who assembled them in the midst of perils and hardships among the mountains.

6. LAUDERDALE.—When Lauderdale found his indulgence rejected, his fierce nature was roused, and he resolved to make those who would not accept his terms feel the weight of his A. D. } vengeance. A new law, more severe than any former  
1670. } one, was passed against conventicles. As many females frequented these assemblages, few gentlemen of property daring to incur the liability of ruin, husbands were made accountable for their wives, and fathers for their children. The fines for attendance were doubled, and the officiating preacher was to be punished with death. People informing against covenanters were rewarded, while those who killed them were indemnified. At the same time heavy penalties and inflictions were imposed on those who refused to give testimony against them. The utmost profusion and irregularity prevailed at court during Lauderdale's administration. The parliament saw the country enormously taxed and on the borders of ruin and civil war, and there at last appeared among them some symptoms of opposition. The bar at the same time showed a firmness which was unusually effective. The opposition tried to neutralize the influence of the government upon the courts of law, by appealing from their judgments to parliament as they now appeal to the House of Lords. A case in which Lauderdale had a personal interest was shamefully decided in his favour. An appeal was moved; and to suppress this species of proceeding, the advocates who advised the appeal, Lockhart and Cunningham, were banished from Edinburgh. Fifty of their brethren—probably nearly the whole of the bar at the time—followed them, and the business of the courts was necessarily interrupted during the whole year they were absent.

PERSECUTION IN THE WEST.—The most extraordinary and perplexing legal proceedings were now adopted against the covenanters. The landlords in the western counties were required to grant bonds or enter into securities, that they and their families, their tenants, and servants, nay the servants of A. D. } their tenants, should attend church and abstain from  
1678. } conventicles; but though they were willing to give any assistance to keep the people from attending conventicles,

they could not undertake to pay heavy penalties if they were unsuccessful. An excuse was taken from this refusal to consider the western gentry as disaffected, and a peculiar plan was adopted for annoying and harassing them. This was by raising an army of Highlanders, who were sent to do what the gentry professed they could not accomplish—to keep the people from attending conventicles. The highland host, as it was called, however, occupied itself chiefly in plundering and levying money, and its presence was a curse remembered for generations in the west country. So effectually did these half-savage troops perform their task, that even those who had proposed it became alarmed at their excesses. From the county of Ayr alone it was estimated that these plunderers carried away property to the amount of £12,000 sterling, a very large sum in those days. Lauderdale alone seemed unmoved by their ravages: "Better," said he, "that the west bore nothing but windle-straws and sandy laverocks [dog's grass and sea-larks], than that it should bear rebels to the king."

A few years later, the French monarch, Louis XIV., employed a similar measure to convert his protestant subjects, and the *dragoonades*, as they were termed, because the instruments of his cruelty were chiefly dragoons, have transmitted his name to posterity as a merciless persecutor.

The next plan of annoyance adopted by Lauderdale was still more perplexing. If a private person swears and can show that he is in bodily fear of suffering some injury from another, he may compel him to give security to abstain from injuring the complainer. This is known in England as finding security to keep the peace, but in Scotland it is still called letters of lawburrows. In the name of the king, as if he were a private party afraid of violence, letters of lawburrows were taken out against these gentlemen of the west, and they were subjected to penalties for not coming under obligations which it was impossible for them to fulfil.

7. MURDER OF SHARPE.—It has been believed that Lauderdale really wished to bring the country into insurrection. Some incidents at last, like a spark falling on gunpowder, produced an actual outbreak. Sharpe was of course an object of peculiar hatred, both on account of his betrayal of the presbyterian cause and his excessive cruelty. At an early period his life had been attempted by a man named Mitchell, who with the pistol aimed at Sharpe wounded the Bishop of Orkney. Such indeed is said to have been the history of Mitchell's attempt, but he was treated with great injustice, for having been apprehended long afterwards, he was promised his pardon

if he confessed the charge. He did confess, but he was not  
 A. D. } pardoned. Some years afterwards Balfour of Burleigh,  
 1679. } Hackston of Rathillet, and some others, were wander-  
 ing through Fifeshire in search of the sheriff of the county,  
 whom they were resolved to put to death. Unexpectedly  
 they saw approaching them, across the lonely district called  
 Magus Moor, the heavy lumbering coach of the archbishop,  
 who was returning from Edinburgh. To their excited minds  
 this appeared as a special interposition of Providence throw-  
 ing their greatest enemy into their hands, and they resolved  
 to put him to death. He was dragged out of the coach, and  
 in the presence of his daughter who accompanied him, was  
 despatched by numerous wounds.

This was a startling instance of the effect of arbitrary and  
 tyrannical government in undermining all morality and true  
 religion. It struck terror into the authors of the persecution,  
 and they knew not whether it were better to turn back and  
 be lenient, or to go on and be more cruel. Their subordinate  
 agents scarcely weighed the matter, but taking advantage of  
 the crime committed by a body of covenanters, they pursued  
 the party with greater rancour. These in their turn were  
 more attentive to arm themselves, and more vigilant when  
 they attended their conventicles. Thus skirmishes between  
 the soldiers and the armed peasantry were of frequent occur-  
 rence. One body of covenanters, having taken up their posi-  
 tion in a piece of boggy ground named Drumclog, successfully  
 1st June } resisted Graham of Claverhouse with his dragoons,  
 1679. } and put them to flight with considerable loss.

8. BOTHWELL BRIDGE.—The news of this success spread  
 rapidly among the covenanters, and it was now believed that  
 the hour of their triumph was at hand. They gathered in  
 large numbers, and constituted a really formidable army. The  
 Duke of Monmouth, the natural son of the king, was sent to  
 command the government troops. A suspicion indeed was  
 entertained that the Scots were too deeply prejudiced against  
 each other to be safely trusted with the commission, while the  
 duke was of a gentle and moderate disposition. The insur-  
 gents had taken up a very strong position at Bothwell Bridge  
 crossing the Clyde. The river there was deep and rapid,  
 and as the bridge was narrow, steep, and crooked, with a  
 tower to defend it, a small number of well disciplined men  
 could have successfully withstood a considerable army. They  
 were, however, so disunited among themselves, and so dis-  
 24d June } heartened, that they allowed Monmouth's troops to  
 1679. } pass the bridge without opposition. The unhappy

covenanters were put to flight, and though Monmouth gave orders to spare them, many of them were slaughtered. The prisoners were treated with great cruelty. The jails could not contain them all, and a large number of them were compelled to remain like so many cattle in the churchyard of the Greyfriars in Edinburgh, with sentinels watching them to prevent their escape. Here they were imprisoned for nearly five months, sleeping among the graves during the night, without the slightest accommodation, until within a short time of their release, when a few deal sheds were put up. From their number several were selected for execution; others were sold as slaves to the plantations, many of whom were drowned while crossing the sea.

9. THE CAMERONIANS.—In the autumn of 1679, the Duke of York, afterwards King James, was sent as lord high commissioner and governor of Scotland. He was a bigoted Roman-catholic, and therefore had not much sympathy with the episcopalians, though he had still less with the covenanters. This cast a sort of doubt over his intentions, and he was a man of dry reserved manners, who did not give himself up to the wild dissipation of the age, and was not communicative to those who came about him. He is said to have been shocked by the severities exercised on females; but it is certain that there was no relaxation of the general persecution during his government. It was then that the new instrument of torture called the Thumbikin was brought into use, and he was present in the council when a man was brought up, whom all known methods of torture had failed to affect, and who was doomed to be kept from sleep night and day, by persons whose function it was ever to find some means of rousing him when he fell into slumber. Bishop Burnet says that the Duke of York was partial to the sight of tortured persons, and enjoyed the agony caused by the boots or the thumbikins, when the other privy councillors were glad of any excuse to absent themselves. "He looked on all the while with an unmoved indifference, and with an attention as if he had been to look upon some curious experiment."

The more rigid portion of the presbyterian party, after their defeat at Bothwell Bridge, took refuge in the most inaccessible parts of the country, and were hunted down like wild beasts. Richard Cameron, whose name was afterwards given to a small presbyterian sect, formally disowned the authority of the king, and, though he was a clergyman, put himself at the head of a body of insurgents, in company with Hackston of Rathillet, one of the band who had slain Archbishop Sharpe.

Cameron perished in a conflict where Hackston was taken prisoner. This man was said not to have participated in the murder of Sharpe, though he was present at the time; but he was nevertheless put to death with protracted torture. Cameron's leadership was taken up by Donald Cargill, who publicly excommunicated the King, the Duke of York, and the principal persons of the government, including Sir George Mackenzie the lord advocate, whose zeal in the prosecution of the covenanters procured him the title of Bloody Mackenzie. Cargill was zealously pursued, and having been taken was put to death with some of his followers,—a measure which only made the others more obstinately adhere to their principles.

10. THE NEW TEST.—During the Duke of York's government a test oath was prepared, which every one to whom it was tendered was compelled to take, if he would avoid heavy penalties. It was so inconsistent that some people maintained it to have been actually prepared as a trap, and thus the Duke of Argyle took it with an explanation. This gave high offence. The duke was seized and tried, and being actually convicted of the crime called leasing-making, or raising up enemies against  
 12th Dec. } the government, he was condemned to death. He  
 1681. } made his escape, but his condemnation created a great panic among the Scottish nobility, who thought the government were bent on the extermination of the people, from the humble peasant to the highest baron. Soon afterwards the English project for a change in the government, headed by Lord William Russell, Algernon Sidney, and other eminent patriots, became known to the Scottish malcontents, who immediately resolved to co-operate with them. The plan was marred by the notorious Rye-house plot, conducted by desperate men, who intended to put the king, his brother, and other offensive public men to death. When the English scheme was thus discovered, its friends in Scotland fled or concealed themselves. One of them, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, hid himself in the family vault among the mouldering remains of his ancestors, and was there tended by his dutiful daughter, afterwards Lady Grizell Baillie. This affair increased the fervour of the government, and indeed appeared to afford them an excuse for their severities. In the midst of these increasing cruelties,  
 6th Feb. } which drove the country into deeper and deeper dis-  
 1685. } traction, Charles II. died. His life and character were a matter of little consequence, in so far as the history of Scotland is concerned, unless it may be said that the miseries of the country were caused by his negligence. He probably



knew nothing of the cruelties practised in his name, and continued a careless and worthless life until his last illness. Then only did he appear to think of anything serious, and the result was, that through the persuasions of his brother, who was at least a more earnest man, he died a Roman-catholic.

#### EXERCISES.

1. When did Charles II. arrive in London? How was he received? What was the state of parties in Scotland? How did the new king act as to the covenant? What was the mission of James Sharpe? How did he act to those who intrusted him with it? What plan was adopted to remove all the legislation in favour of the presbyterian system?

2. Who were Lauderdale and Middleton? What projects were entertained as to the Church? What were the preliminary steps taken for the restoration of episcopacy? Give an account of the act passed in 1662. What proceeding immediately followed it?

3. Give an account of the state of religious feeling at the time of the restoration, and the effect of the violent measures on it. How did the clergy act? What was the effect of their conduct? What oath was administered? Give an account of it. How did the clergy perform the functions of religion? What measures were taken to prevent the people from following them?

4. How did resistance break out? What project did the insurgents form? Give an account of General Dalziel. What took place at Rullion Green? What measures were taken after the suppression of the insurrection? What particular victim excited much sympathy? Give an account of the system of torture pursued.

5. How was the persecution noticed at court? What changes were made? Give an account of the indulgence, and the reason why it failed.

6. What effect had the conduct of the covenanters on Lauderdale? What new law was passed? How did opposition commence? Describe the conflict of the government with the bar. Give an account of the system of exacting bonds from the landed proprietors. What was the Highland host? What was the next plan of annoyance adopted?

7. What was Lauderdale suspected of? What was the nature of Mitchell's attempt on Sharpe? Give an account of the murder of Sharpe. What followed it? What occurred at Drumclog?

8. What was the effect of the victory at Drumclog? Who was sent to command the government troops? Give a description of the battle of Bothwell Bridge, stating by what mismanagement the covenanters were defeated.

9. Who was sent as lord high commissioner? What was the Duke of York's character? Who was Richard Cameron? What kind of followers had he? Who was Hackston? Describe the conduct of Cargill. What character did Sir George Mackenzie acquire?

10. What was the nature of the new test? How did it inveigle Argyle? How was he treated? What projects were formed in England? What was the state of the country when Charles II. died? How far was the evil of his doing?

## CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES VII. TO THE COMPLETION  
OF THE REVOLUTION, A. D. 1685—1689.

Argyle's Insurrection—Suspension of the Test Oath—Cruelties against the Covenanters—Revolution of 1688—Burning of Holyrood Chapel—Convention of Estates—Viscount Dundee—Settlement of the Crown—Declaration of Right.

1. ARGYLE'S INSURRECTION.—When James succeeded to the throne there was no cessation of the persecution. As it was believed that the accession of a Roman-catholic would be very unpopular in both kingdoms, a rebellion broke out against him, headed by Monmouth in England, and by Argyle in Scotland. Both were easily suppressed. Argyle landed on his own great possessions, where his authority was almost kingly. His insurrection might have been successful had his followers been united, and content to obey a leader, but the old stubborn spirit which destroyed better opportunities for the covenanters again broke out, and the force fell to pieces. Argyle himself was taken prisoner on the banks of the Clyde, almost alone, he and his remaining followers fleeing for their lives.

The fate of Argyle was one of the most singular instances of the self-willed tyranny of the period. He had been caught in rebellion, and could have been easily condemned to death for his conduct; nay, every one must admit that he was far more deserving of punishment than most of those who suffered at the time. It happened, however, that he had already been condemned for the trifling offence, if it was any at all, of not taking the test. The government thought it would amount to an admission of the injustice of this condemnation if they  
 30th June } tried him again, and so they executed him under  
 1685. } the old sentence. Many of his followers suffered a similar fate, and thus was Scotland for upwards of twenty years a great shambles, in which the people were accustomed every day to witness new tortures and executions. By such scenes the people were made savage and relentless in their turn, and many of the more enthusiastic thought that to tolerate difference of opinion, or spare the lives of those who held the same belief as their persecutors, was a great sin.

2. The Roman-catholics had been treated with considerable severity in the reigns of James the Sixth, and Charles I. They were little interfered with during the great persecution

of the covenanters, but the laws against those who did not conform with the protestant episcopal church applied nearly as much to them as to the presbyterians. King James being avowedly a catholic, and surrounded by catholic subjects and advisers, it was natural that he should wish to have the profession of his own religion made no longer a punishable offence in the country which he governed. The violent party among the covenanters were too completely alienated from all other religious persuasions to tolerate popery, nor did any class of protestants in Scotland like it. At the same time their respect for kingly authority would probably have induced them to consent to extend toleration to the king and his immediate friends, especially if they had followed their religious observances in private.

James soon showed, however, that it was not merely toleration, but the re-establishment of the Roman-catholic religion that he desired. He began by calling on the parliament to repeal the several laws against the papists. They answered merely that they would do as much for the relief of the papists as their consciences would permit. Being impeded by his parliaments both in England and Scotland, he now resolved to take the matter into his own hands. Accordingly, he resolved to dispense with the test, maintaining that he had the same right to excuse a person from being subject to a law as he had to pardon an offender who had broken it.

3. Though the presbyterians were immediate gainers by this step, yet they saw that it could not be sincere. James was himself the author of the test, and it had been treated in Argyle's case as a thing too sacred to be even taken with an explanation. Moreover, the persecution of the covenanters had by no means abated. One terrible act of cruelty was perpetrated against them early in the new reign. Those who were in custody were collected from the various jails, and driven in a herd northwards to the castle of Dunnottar, where they were huddled together in a damp vault close on the sea, still known and shown to strangers as "The Whigs' Vault." Here the greater number of them perished—some from the cruelty of their keepers, others from disease, and several in attempts to escape.

But in the very letter in which he sent to the parliament what he called "A proclamation for liberty of conscience and suspension of the laws against papists," he said, "Though we have given some ease to those whose principles we can with any safety trust, we have at the same time expressed our highest indignation against those enemies of Christianity as

well as government and human society, the field conventi-  
 clers, whom we recommend to you to root out with all the severity  
 of our laws, and with the most vigorous prosecution of our  
 forces." The proclamation itself alarmed people by the absolute  
 authority which it claimed for the king. Thus it began: "We  
 have thought fit to grant, and by our sovereign authority, pre-  
 Feb. } rogative royal, and absolute power, which all our sub-  
 1696. } jects are to observe without reserve, do hereby give  
 and grant our royal toleration." Then the moderate presby-  
 terians are tolerated to meet in private houses, and hear  
 clergymen who accept of the indulgence, but the field con-  
 venticles were to be put down with the utmost severity of the  
 law. This very limited toleration contrasted strongly with the  
 full relief given to Roman-catholics from all laws or acts of  
 parliament, customs or constitutions in force against them, and  
 made the people fear that the "prerogative royal and absolute  
 power" which he arrogated might be used for other purposes  
 besides indulgences and the suspension of tests.

4. The covenanters were thus by no means reconciled.  
 They charged the king with saying that Scotland would never  
 be well till all the south of the Forth were made a hunting-  
 field. One of their number, the Reverend John Shields, who  
 profited by the indulgence to publish a book, called "A Hind  
 Let Loose," took the opportunity to speak in the following  
 terms of the reign of James: "There were more butchered and  
 slaughtered in the fields, without all shadow of law, or trial,  
 or sentence, than in all the former tyrant's reign: who were  
 murdered without time given to deliberate on death, or space  
 to conclude their prayers, but either in the instant when they  
 were praying shooting them to death, or surprising them in  
 their caves and murdering them there without any grant of  
 prayer at all."

Subservient as the courtiers had become, they would not  
 in general aid the projects of James. The Duke of Queens-  
 berry, and Mackenzie the lord-advocate, whose name was so  
 much connected with the persecution of the covenanters, were  
 obliged to be superseded by more willing instruments. Two  
 noblemen, Perth and Melfort, scandalized themselves by chang-  
 ing their faith to gain favour with the king. The ministry  
 he made up towards the end of his reign was a strange mix-  
 ture—partly Roman-catholic, partly covenanting. But it was  
 in vain that he sought popularity by introducing the latter  
 ingredient. Alarming riots had already begun in Edinburgh,  
 when events which had been in progress elsewhere gave in-  
 dication of the greatest event in British history.

5. **THE REVOLUTION.**—In England, James had been proceeding with a systematic attempt to transfer the church and the universities to the dominion of the pope. He had been resisted in parliament; and seven of the bishops who had been committed by him to the Tower for refusing to read his declaration of indulgence were released by the courts of law. The country was ripe for revolution; and William, prince of Orange, the head of the protestant party on the continent, who was nephew to the king, and had married his daughter, was prepared to take advantage of any opportunity which might offer. The queen was in the meantime delivered of a son. The Roman-catholics held this forth as a special interposition of providence to preserve a king of their own persuasion on the throne. But 10th June } the rest of the nation were suspicious of a plot, and  
1688. } at last believed a story told them that no royal child had really been born, but that a spurious infant had been brought into the queen's bedroom in a warming-pan. At length the Prince of Orange set sail for England, where he landed on the 5th of November. James sent to Scotland an order that the small army there assembled should march to his assistance in England. It proceeded slowly as far as Uxbridge, under the command of Lord James Douglas and Graham of Claverhouse, who had just been created Viscount Dundee. This restless warrior entertained bold views about a junction with the English royalists and a determined resistance to the Revolution,—a project thwarted by the act of James in leaving the country and embarking for France on the 23d of December. The army was then transferred to General Mackay, a friend of the Revolution, while Dundee returned disappointed to Scotland.

6. The country might now be said to be left to govern itself. Order was chiefly preserved by a band of volunteers, consisting of the Edinburgh lawyers. In the south-west, where the Cameronians prevailed, they rose and drove forth the episcopal teachers, whom they did not, however, treat with cruelty or extreme severity. Some preparations that had been made for the solemn resumption of the catholic worship in Holyrood Chapel, and for converting the palace into a college of priests, excited the indignation of the Edinburgh mob. They were joined by people of a superior class, and on the 10th December a general attack was made on the building, which proved successful. The chapel was gutted of what were called the emblems of idolatry, and considerable mischief was done to the building. Such was almost the sole act of violence which attended the Revolution in Scotland.

A deputation of the principal members of his party went

up to wait on the Prince of Orange in London, where he had the advice of Gilbert Burnet, a man well acquainted with Scottish affairs, who, though he was afterwards made a bishop in England, had been forced to take refuge abroad at the accession of King James. The advice given to the Scottish deputation was, that their parliament should do as that of England had done—convene, or assemble of its own authority, without any royal warrant.

7. The Convention of Estates met on the 14th of March 1689. There was much danger of collision, for the friends of King James, or the Jacobite party as they might be called, had assembled many Highlanders and other followers, while the presbyterians had invited to the town a number of the Cameronians of the west. It was easily seen that the preponderance in the convention was against the refugee king; but beyond the walls of the parliament-house it was in the other direction, since the Duke of Gordon, a strong friend of the cause of the Stewarts, commanded Edinburgh Castle. He and his friends were, however, inactive and intimidated—every one save Dundee, who, excited beyond all patience by their apathy and the critical state of his cause, formed scheme after scheme to coerce the convention. He in vain urged the Duke of Gordon to open an attack on the town. At length, tired out, he resolved to betake himself to a more genial field. The Cameronians lined the streets to present an opposing force should he attempt violence. Unaided from the castle, however, his little body of retainers was quite incompetent to such a task. He, however, led them through the hostile bands, which looked on their great persecutor with firm defiance, yet, singularly enough, avoided a contest, and allowed him to march out of the town towards the Highlands.

Thus left free, the convention proceeded with its deliberations. The English parliament had decided that James by his departure had abdicated the throne; but a stronger view was taken in Scotland, and a resolution passed to the effect that he had forfeited all title to the crown. The royal dignity was at the same time settled on the Prince and Princess of Orange, and after their decease without heirs, on the Princess Anne. That there might be no temptation or opportunity for any future sovereign's adopting such arbitrary measures as those exemplified in the late reign, the settlement of the crown was accompanied by certain conditions, the whole being incorporated in one document called "The Declaration of the Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland, containing the Claim of Right and the offer of the Crown to their Majesties King

William and Queen Mary." This document went over the various acts of arbitrary oppression and unjust interference of the late reigns, and protested that they were contrary to the liberties and rights of the nation. Thus was completed the Revolution, on the 11th of April 1689.

#### EXERCISES.

1. Give an account of Argyle's rising. How did it become ineffective? What was his own fate? What was the fate of his followers? Describe the effect which so much slaughter had upon the country.
2. What was the position of the Roman-catholics? How were they looked on by the rest of the country? What were the ultimate designs of the king as to religion? What method did he take in commencing his operations?
3. How did the presbyterians take the indulgence? How was it known to be insincere? What act of cruelty was perpetrated? What was the nature of the document in which the king imparted his relief from the penal laws?
4. How did the covenanting writers describe the reign of James VII.? How did the courtiers behave? What changes were found necessary?
5. What had been the character of the king's proceedings in England? Who was prepared to take advantage of the course of events? What domestic event hurried on the coming of the Prince of Orange? When did he arrive in England? What attempt was made by Claverhouse?
6. How was order maintained in the capital? What occurred in the west? What act of violence was committed? What proceedings were adopted with relation to the Prince of Orange?
7. What body assembled in Edinburgh? What danger was there of collision? What was the conduct of the Duke of Gordon, and that of Dundee? How did the proceeding of the Scottish parliament as to King James differ from that of the English? What was the nature of the claim of right? On what day was the Revolution completed?

### CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE UNION, A. D. 1689—1707.

Insurrection of Dundee—Battle of Killiecrankie—King William's Tol-  
erance—Abolition of Prelacy—Restoration of Presbyterianism—  
Patronage—Cardinal Carstairs—Massacre of Glencoe—The Darien  
Company—Queen Anne—Act of Security—Treaty of Union.

1. **BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKIE.**—The new sovereigns did not obtain the throne without a struggle. Ireland, where the catholics greatly predominated, had, with the exception of the province of Ulster, declared for King James. Melfort, his secretary, conceived such high hopes from this appearance of reaction, that in some of his letters which were intercepted,

he discussed the punishment to be awarded to the rebels when the monarch was restored. He was in correspondence with Dundee, who then resided at his own house or fortalice of Dudhope, near the town from which he took his title. The convention sent a party to apprehend him, but he was too strongly supported by the Jacobites of the north to be safely seized. Ever reflecting on the career of his namesake Montrose, he now resolved to follow the same course—to head a body of armed Highlanders, and either restore the exiled monarch or be the second great martyr to royalty.

He found it easy to assemble round him the outlawed clans, whose whole occupation was warfare and marauding, and who were miserable in quiet times. Mackay, an able and prudent but not very active general, was sent against him. Among those who had attached themselves to the cause of Dundee, was Stewart of Boquhan, who had the custody of Blair Castle, and who resolved to hold it out for King James, although the Marquis of Athole, to whom it properly belonged, had conformed to the Revolution Settlement. This castle commanded two important passes of communication through the country—the one leading westward by the river Garry, the other northward through Glen Tilt. Mackay resolved to seize it, and Dundee to defend it, so that it thus became the centre point of this short war. To reach it from the south, Mackay had to penetrate the formidable pass of Killiecrankie, where the river Garry dashes between abrupt rocky banks of great height. A cautious general would have fortified the pass; but this would have only kept the enemy from attempting it, while Dundee was ambitious of gaining a signal victory. He therefore allowed them to traverse it in safety; but when they emerged at the northern extremity, they were received by an impetuous charge from the Highlanders. Mackay's troops were beaten back into the recesses of the pass, where they could ill cope with men accustomed to mountain warfare. The victory was complete, but Dundee himself was killed. He was succeeded by an inferior commander, General Cannon, under whom the cause rapidly sunk. He fought at Dunkeld, where the Cameronians of the west, having formed themselves into a regiment still called after their name, defended themselves with great bravery. They occupied the cathedral and other buildings, from which they beat off the attacks of the Highlanders. Another leader, named Buchan, was not more successful, his forces being surprised and routed at Cromdale, on the bank of the Spey.

1st May }  
1690. }

2. PRESBYTERIANISM RESTORED.—King William was essen-



tially a tolerant man; and it was a novelty to those who had gained the victory over the episcopalians, and expected to triumph in their turn, to find themselves discouraged in all such attempts. He would willingly have left the people to manage their religious questions without state interference, were it not that this gave the stronger permission to tyrannize over the weaker. He agreed to go the length of re-establishing the presbyterian system; but he would not exclude the other party entirely from office and countenance. The first parliament which met after the convention abolished prelacy and all superiority in any office in the church, as a great and insupportable grievance to the nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people. By the next A. D. } parliament the expelled clergy were restored to their  
1690. } parishes; and the Confession of Faith was adopted as the confession of the church. Soon afterwards an act was passed for the visitation of universities and schools; and they were put under the superintendence of the presbyterian church courts, with precautions against persons of other churches becoming professors or masters. In the south country, where presbyterianism greatly predominated, these measures were fully followed out, and a farther movement would have been readily welcomed. But the episcopalian spirit was still strong in the north, and several years elapsed before all the clergy were removed and their places filled by presbyterians.

The absolute right of patrons to present to parishes had ever been an object of dislike to the majority of the presbyterian party, and has created the chief dissensions in the church. King William and his supporters had no objection to the abolition of the right, if it could be accomplished with compensation to the patrons. An act was therefore passed requiring the patrons to resign whenever the proprietors of the parish paid them six hundred merks. The nomination to the parish was then to be in the elders and heritors; but the congregation might dissent, and the validity of the reasons of dissent were to be discussed by the church courts. We shall afterwards find that the repeal of this act produced momentous consequences down to a late period. Even in William's reign, however, the supremacy granted to the presbyterian system was not sufficient to satisfy the extreme party in the west, who acted as if they thought that even the old rule of the Stewarts was preferable to a system which gave them such lukewarm support. Their more moderate brethren, too, were jealous and sensitive of their privileges. An oath of allegiance was made applicable to the clergy, chiefly for the purpose

of testing the sincerity of those episcopalians who professed to conform to the new arrangements. But the presbyterian clergy expressed themselves strongly averse to a temporal oath being a qualification for an ecclesiastical office; and if the king had not in a timely moment suspended the taking of the oath by the Assembly, a serious rupture would have been occasioned. He adopted this step by the earnest advice of Carstairs, the principal of the university of Edinburgh, a man who had been tortured in the reign of Charles II., but had acquired so much influence both with the government and the church after the Revolution that he was called "Cardinal Carstairs."

3. GLENCOE.—William had not been long upon the throne when an act was perpetrated in the Highlands which was disgraceful to a civilized government, however much it might resemble the conduct of the chiefs to each other. As the Highlanders were known to be ready to revolt whenever an adventurous leader might appear among them, it was thought a good plan to buy over their chiefs to the new government. The money was given for distribution to the Earl of Breadalbane, a crafty and cruel man. The chiefs readily took whatever was offered to them, but showed little signs of allegiance; and Breadalbane, feeling disappointed, determined to take vengeance. Stair, the secretary of state, who entered into his views, got a proclamation issued, requiring all Highland chiefs to take the oath of allegiance before the 1st of January 1692; and if any failed to do so, they were to be subject to the extremities of fire and sword. Troops were collected to put the alternative in force, for it was believed that many of the clans would hold out. They became alarmed, however, at these preparations, and hurried to take the oath. One aged chief, MacIain, the head of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, had been somewhat late in tendering his submission, and he went to the wrong quarter—Colonel Hill, the governor of Fort-William, instead of going to the sheriff of his county or to a civil magistrate. The old man felt the peril of his position, for it was close to the end of the year, and he was far distant from Inverary, where the sheriff resided, and there lay between him wild tracts of high mountains almost impassable in winter. Kindly aided by Colonel Hill, he made the attempt to reach Inverary, but was too late. The sheriff, however, seeing that he had complied with the spirit of the act, reported this to the privy-council; but the enemies of MacIain managed to conceal the fact, and by some means or other the signature of the king was obtained to documents, by which the inhabitants of Glencoe were to be sacrificed on the ground that "it will be proper, for the vindica-

tion of public justice, to extirpate that set of thieves." In the secretary's letter of instructions it was laid down that the best time for the attack was "in the long dark nights" of the dead of winter, when they could not make their escape to the hills. This horrible duty was committed to a portion of the neighbouring hostile clan of the Campbells, headed by the Laird of Glenlyon, who was a kinsman of Maclean's. The party were received without suspicion, and generously entertained. On the 13th February the slaughter began—the old chief being shot dead at his own hearth, as he was in the midst of some hospitable preparations for his guests. Glencoe lies deep down among mountains of great height, and singularly steep and precipitous, so that to escape amid the darkness and the snow was almost impossible. Yet a very few were preserved even through means of these difficulties, for with incredible perseverance they made their way through the snow, which lay so heavy as to prevent those who had intended to block up the passes from effectually doing so.

4. THE DARIEN COMPANY.—This event did much injury to the reputation of King William's government. It was followed by another affair which threatened to dismember the empire, and create a war between Scotland and England. The Scots saw that their enterprising neighbours of England made themselves rich and powerful by trade, and they resolved to follow so good an example. An individual of the name of William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England, who had travelled much, and possessed a fertile and commanding genius, proposed a great project of trade, in which Scotland was to bear the principal part. In 1695, he got an act of the Scottish parliament passed for the establishment of "a company trading to Africa and the Indies." He lived at that time in London, and he had persuaded the English capitalists that they would find this speculation peculiarly profitable. Many of them agreed to join and make up a large capital, to be added to what might be subscribed in Scotland. The East India Company, however, and other bodies, who saw that this would make a serious competition with their trade, interfered, and prevailed upon William, after he had as King of Scotland acceded to the act of parliament and granted a charter to the company, to disown what he had done. This was one of the evils arising from a large and a small state being under one king—he was obliged to consult the interests of the former to the prejudice of the latter; but he complained that he had been ill served by his Scottish advisers.

The withdrawal of the English supporters only made the

people of Scotland more enthusiastic for the scheme. It was a point of national honour to carry it on, and they exulted in the prospect of having all the profit to themselves. The amount to be raised was fixed at four hundred thousand pounds sterling,—an enormous sum for a country so poor as Scotland then was. The subscription books were opened at Edinburgh on the 26th of February 1696, and within six weeks nearly the whole amount was subscribed. Some of the nobility ventured as much as two or three thousand pounds each; but the larger part of the money came from small landowners, traders, lawyers, and physicians, and each person generally subscribed all he possessed, as well as what he could borrow from friends who had not enough to enable them to become subscribers on their own account.

5. The company devised several magnificent schemes. They issued notes, and commenced the banking system of Scotland, but did not long continue it. They built warerooms, set manufactures agoing, and proposed to freight ships and carry on commerce with all the world. Their main proposal was, however, to colonize some distant and unoccupied part of the globe. They selected the isthmus of Darien, that long narrow neck of land which unites the continents of North and South America. It was believed that by founding a settlement there the Scots would be able to trade on both sides of America, and thus the colony would become the great means of communication with the New World both by the east and the west. Paterson also proposed, for his ideas were always magnificent and liberal, that there should be complete free trade in the colony, and that the vessels of all countries should be admitted to it without distinction.

The expedition to the colony sailed from Leith, in vessels well fitted out and armed, on the 26th of July 1698. On the 30th October they landed in the Gulf of Darien. The climate, the productions of the soil, and the general capabilities of the spot were every way promising on their arrival, but the preliminaries had not been well managed. The merchandise was not skilfully selected, and was in bad condition. The place was so near to some Spanish settlements that the Spaniards maintained they had a right to it, which gave King William an additional excuse for discountenancing the project. But, worst of all, the climate proved insalubrious, and sickness set in followed by numerous deaths, while the colonists increased these misfortunes by quarrels among each other. A second expedition, to reinforce the first, left the Clyde in September, but they found the settlement almost a desert, instead of the

prosperous colony they expected. Yet vigorous efforts were made to remedy past blunders. Besides the ordinary difficulties, and the hostility of the Spaniards, the colonists met with a still worse enemy in the governors of the English colonies, who were instructed not to allow any trade to be carried on with them. Thus, when some of the company's vessels in a state of distress touched at the English possessions, they were not allowed to purchase provisions, and were refused permission to go on shore for water. The people of Scotland acted with a kind of chivalrous enthusiasm under these depressing circumstances, for they sent off a new expedition in the spring of the year 1700. They had an encounter with the Spaniards, in which they were victorious. The news of this success filled the nation with wild joy; but it was speedily checked by the information that the colony had been compelled to surrender to a reinforcement from Spain, that the settlement was abandoned, and all the immense efforts of the country sacrificed.

Anger and disappointment were felt throughout Scotland in the highest degree. Strong resolutions were passed by parliament, which William could not oppose, the country having an independent legislature. It taught him, however, that the only proper remedy for such evils was the incorporation of the two kingdoms. The most important effect of the Darien expedition was the union of 1707, which probably owed much to the forethought of King William, who, however, died on 8th March 1702, before any serious measures for its accomplishment had been commenced.

6. QUEEN ANNE, as the daughter of the exiled King James, was much more acceptable to the Jacobite party than the late king; but the affair of Darien had created a new political body, who cared less for a particular monarch than to free their country from the tyrannical interference of England. They were called the Country Party, and were led by an enthusiastic and able man, Fletcher of Saltoun. Lord Belhaven, an orator of commanding eloquence, with the Duke of Hamilton, and the Marquis of Tweeddale, were among its most influential members. An opportunity was immediately afforded for acting on their principles. When the succession to the crown was last settled, Queen Anne had children who would have succeeded; but the last of them, the young Duke of Gloucester, had died, and it was necessary to look for a successor elsewhere. The English parliament, passing over the queen's brother and the descendants of Charles I., fixed on a daughter of that daughter of James I. of England who had married the Prince Palatine.

The son of the princess so chosen, afterwards George I., was the first of the present race of monarchs. But while England made this arrangement, the country party were threatening that Scotland would arrange the succession for herself, and the notorious Fraser of Lovat was then plotting with some Jacobites for the restoration, as it was supposed, of the exiled prince.

To put their views fully in practice, an act was passed called the Act of Security, which provided that, in the case of the queen's death, the sovereignty of the country should be in the parliament, who should choose a successor. But it was specially stipulated that this successor should be a different person from the monarch of England, unless securities were given that Scotland should have a full participation in the English privileges of trade and navigation. It was ordered at the same time that the nation should be placed in a state of defence, and troops were immediately embodied. The queen's commissioner at first refused the royal assent to the act; but this roused the flame of resistance so fiercely that a different policy

A. D. } was found necessary, and the act, having again passed  
1704. } through the parliament, was assented to.

A remarkable incident occurred at this time, showing how sternly all classes of the community were bent on redress for the conduct of England to the Darien Company. One of their ships called the *Annandale*, had been seized in the river Thames, for infringing on the peculiar trading privileges of the English East India Company, one of whose vessels, named the *Worcester*, was at the time by a singular coincidence lying off *Burntisland*, in the Frith of Forth. The Darien Company did not hesitate to seize on this vessel by way of reprisal. Some of the English sailors having when drinking dropped mysterious hints about crimes that had been committed by their crew, a suspicion was entertained that they had been pirates in the Eastern Seas. The suspicion worked itself into a certainty—horrible tales of their cruelty were told, and everywhere believed. The public indignation was wrought up to the highest pitch of ferocity; and the master of the vessel, Captain Green, with some of his crew, were actually tried, condemned to death, and hanged. This was done rather to show a reckless and determined spirit of resistance to England than as an act of justice.

7. THE UNION.—All moderate politicians now saw that the union of the two nations into one, with common interests and privileges, was the only means of preventing a war between them, and all its miserable consequences. On the 28th of June 1706,

an act of the Scottish parliament was passed for the nomination of commissioners to treat for a union with those who should be appointed on the part of England. They commenced their proceedings in the following April. The importance and difficulty of the task they had undertaken was almost unexampled. Nations had often been incorporated by conquest, or by the acts of a despotic monarch, who could do as he pleased; but here were two separate nations coming to an agreement on equal terms, and each resolved to preserve the freedom of its inhabitants, though the independence of their country might cease. After an arduous discussion, certain articles of union were agreed to and signed on the 22d July 1706. It still remained that they should receive the sanction of the two parliaments.

By these articles it was agreed that there should be one parliament for the whole kingdom. The article most prejudicial to Scotland was that which limited the number of Scottish members of the House of Commons to forty-five. The peers of Scotland were a very numerous body compared with the population and wealth of the country, and it would have been out of the question to give them all seats in the new House of Lords. It was provided, however, that they should have all the privileges of English peers, except those of a legislative character, and should elect sixteen of their number to be their representatives in the House of Lords. No more Scottish peers were to be created, so that all the Scotsmen who have obtained peerages since the Union have been made British peers, and sit in the House of Lords. The chief object of anxiety with the people at large naturally was the safety of the national religion under a legislature of which a large majority would be episcopalians, or other persons who might be hostile to it. Careful provision was made for the preservation of the presbyterian form of church-government being secured by a separate act, as well as by the Treaty of Union. Scotland was to preserve her separate laws, her courts of justice, and her national and local institutions. It was provided, however, that as the revenue was now to pass into a common treasury, the laws as to its collection and enforcement should be uniform throughout the island, and for this purpose a Court of Exchequer in the English form was appointed for Scotland. The privileges of trade and navigation, for which Scotland chiefly contended, were conceded. The taxation of the country was limited to what was considered a fair proportion of the whole revenue of the empire; indeed, if the Scottish commissioners were somewhat unsuccessful in the amount of parliamentary representation they

secured, they got a sort of compensation in the limitation of the taxes. As England had been burdened with a national debt which would now be borne by the whole island, it was agreed that a sum should be transferred to Scotland to compensate for this burden, and also to reimburse those who were losers by the Darien scheme. This fund was called the Equivalent. On the whole, the articles of the treaty tended somewhat to place Scotland in a subordinate position. But the solid advantages conferred on the country, by giving it a share in the trade of England, and opening up all its sources of emolument to Scotsmen, afterwards produced an unexampled course of national prosperity.

8. The people, however, saw little in the future but the extinction of their ancient national existence. As the clauses went through parliament, the country party discussed them with great energy and fervid eloquence; for though many of them were actuated by selfish ambition, others really believed that the treaty involved the ruin of their country. They had resolved to make one last great stand on the principal clause of the measure. The Duke of Hamilton, however, who had engaged to lead the attack, actuated by the doubtful policy which always characterized his family, deserted his followers at the moment of action, who then gave up their opposition in despair.

The measure was threatened at the same time with commotions from without. Angry mobs assembled in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other towns; and strong means were necessary for the protection of the members of parliament from violence. A formidable conspiracy had at the same time been organized. The Cameronians of the west were discontented that, having stood all the heat of the persecution, they were excluded from the predominance they expected, and that all the advantages of the Revolution were reaped by the moderate presbyterians. The latter were the chief friends of the Union, which the Cameronians only viewed as a death-blow to their prospects of ascendancy, since it united the moderate body with episcopal England. An arrangement was made for a junction between these men and their old enemies the Jacobite Highlanders, but it was fortunately defeated by a series of lucky accidents.

On the 16th of January 1707, the Articles of Union were ratified by the Scottish parliament. They were declared to come into operation on the 1st of May, and from that day Scotland ceased to be a separate kingdom.



## EXERCISES.

1. What preparations were made for resisting the union settlement? What resolution did Dundee adopt? Who was sent against him? How was the possession of Blair Castle important? Describe the Pass of Killiecrankie. Give an account of the battle fought near it. What loss did the Jacobite cause sustain? How was the war carried on after the death of Dundee?

2. What was King William's character? How did he treat the extreme covenanting party? What acts of parliament were passed? What was done as to universities and schools? Explain the nature of the right of patronage. How was it dealt with by an act of King William's reign? What difficulties had he to encounter with the church? Who was Carstairs?

3. What plan was devised to bring over the Highlanders? What was the nature of Lord Breadalbane's conduct? What position did Macdonald of Glencoe find himself in? Give an account of the massacre of Glencoe.

4. What views did the people begin to entertain as to trade? Give an account of William Paterson. What project did he start? What jealousies interfered with it? How did the conduct of the English affect Scotland? What national effort was made to support the new company?

5. What schemes did the new company start? Where is the Isthmus of Darien? What advantages were expected to arise from a colony there? When did the expedition set out? What kind of mismanagement was shown in relation to it? What difficulties had the colonists to contend with? How were they treated by the English colonies? What was the final fate of the settlers? How did the country act on the occasion?

6. What new political body arose? Who were its leaders? Give an account of the question as to the succession to the throne. What was the nature of the Act of Security? How was it treated by the queen? State what occurred as to the capture of two ships, one in England and the other in Scotland. Give an account of the trial and execution of Green.

7. What was looked to as the remedy of the national disputes? What commissioners were appointed? How was their task one of unexampled importance? What name was given to the document which the commissioners adopted? Give an account of the principal provisions of the Treaty of Union. What was the general tendency of the arrangement?

8. What was the nature of the popular feeling on the Union? What attempt was made to defeat it in parliament? Describe the efforts made in other places to counteract it by violence. From what day did Scotland cease to be a separate kingdom?

## CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE UNION TO THE SECOND JACOBITE INSURRECTION,  
A. D. 1707—1745.

Unpopularity of the Union—Intrigues to restore the Stewarts—Revival of the Episcopal Party—Patronage Act repealed—Insurrection of 1715—Battles of Preston and Sheriffmuir—Murder of Captain Porteous.

1. THE histories of Scotland generally terminate with the Union, because after that event all great public transactions involved the interests of the whole island, and are thus recorded as part of the history of England or of Great Britain. There occurred, however, from time to time, matters of some consequence peculiarly affecting Scotland, a summary of which will be given in their order, but not with such minuteness as in the preceding portions of our narrative.

The Union had more enemies after it was adopted than before, for all its advantages were prospective, while its evils,—the increase of taxation and the removal of the aristocracy,—were immediate. The party who were against it, however, saw no recourse but in a new revolution, which should bring back the exiled family. Many intrigues for this end were constantly conducted during the reign of Queen Anne. Assistance was offered by Louis XIV. of France, and he at one time so far fulfilled his offers as to send the exiled king's son,—called the A. D. } Pretender, with a considerable naval force, commanded  
1707. } by Admiral Forbin. He managed to elude the British fleet, and sailing up the Frith of Forth appeared before Edinburgh, much to the fear of many who were no friends of the Union. He had not been long there, however, ere relief was at hand in the squadron of Admiral Byng, which had sailed in pursuit. The French admiral made a skilful escape, and returned home with his royal passenger.

The episcopal party now began to show themselves again. Under the Revolution Settlement they had disappeared, from the effect of the severe laws passed against them, except in the northern parts of the country where they were surrounded by friends. Under Queen Anne, however, who was a zealous friend of the Church of England, they began gradually to celebrate worship, though with great caution. In 1709, an episcopal clergyman, named Greenshields, administered the English service, chiefly to Englishmen who had come to settle in Scot-

land after the Union. He was brought before the presbytery to answer for his conduct, and they transferred him to the magistrates, by whom he was sentenced to imprisonment. While they were thus liable to punishment, they suffered more serious evils from the attacks of the rabble, against which the authorities would afford them no protection. In 1710, the tory party, many of whom were Jacobites, came into power, and they resolved in Scotland to discourage the presbyterians and favour the episcopalians. In 1712, an act was passed to protect episcopalian congregations from disturbance in the use of the liturgy of the church of England. The privilege was only given to those clergymen who took the oaths to government, and prayed for the queen by name. The General Assembly were much alarmed by this relaxation, and transmitted a memorial to the court, in which they said, "with the greatest earnestness we beseech, nay, obtest her majesty, by the same mercy of God that restored this church and raised her majesty to the throne, to interpose for the relief of this church and the maintenance of the present establishment, against such a manifest and ruinous encroachment." A more direct blow, however, was dealt by the same parliament in the repeal of the act of King William's reign for the renunciation of patronage. Thus this right, ever offensive to a large body of the presbyterians, was restored in full. The act produced a long series of heartburnings and contentions. It occasioned the disputes out of which the Secession Church had its origin in 1740, and caused the larger secession of the Free Church in 1843.

2. THE INSURRECTION OF 1715.—With the exception of disputes about taxation, few events occurred of much importance to Scotland during the remainder of Queen Anne's reign. Aug. 1, } Her death was an event which naturally excited the  
1714. } hopes of the Jacobites, since the question now was, whether their own favourite line should be restored, or the throne pass to the unknown house of Hanover. The Earl of Mar, one of the secretaries of state of Queen Anne's tory ministry, paid great court to George I. on his arrival; but he was neglected and stripped of his office, while he saw preparations making for the impeachment of his colleagues, Bolingbroke and Oxford. Prompted by the most unworthy motives, he resolved to rebel, and passed in disguise to his estates in Aberdeenshire. There he compelled his vassals to assemble around him, and collected the gentry from other parts of the country by pretending to hold a great hunting-match. The method in which that sport was of old pursued in the High-

lands was by a large number of people surrounding a district of country, and gradually driving the game to a certain point. Thus it was no ground for surprise, that a great assemblage of gentlemen and their followers took place at Braemar. Several noblemen from the north and from the borders, with many Highland chiefs, were present at the meeting. The result of their consultations was, that, on the 6th of September 1715, the Jacobite standard was hoisted at Braemar, and the rebellion commenced. The insurgent forces began their march towards Perth, increasing in numbers and influence as they proceeded. They easily got possession of that town, where they held their head-quarters. The established government was ill prepared to meet this outbreak—indeed, there were hardly any troops in the country but such as were raised through the public spirit of the citizens and smaller landed proprietors. Argyle armed his own clan, and kept the command of the north-western Highlands; but the centre of Scotland, from the line of the Friths of Clyde and Forth to Lochness, was at the command of the rebel force, which quickly rose to nearly ten thousand men.

3. An attempt had been made nearly at the same time when the standard was raised at Braemar, to surprise and take the castle of Edinburgh, but it failed through the mismanagement of the projectors; and another, undertaken somewhat later, proved equally unsuccessful. While the government war-vessels in the Frith of Forth were carefully watching the coast of Fife, to intercept any of the insurgents who might attempt to pass over, Brigadier Macintosh, a bold and expert leader among the Highlanders, managed to cross the frith with a considerable party. He found it vain to attack Edinburgh, which had just been put in a posture of defence under the Duke of Argyle. After having obtained ammunition and provisions in Leith, this adventurous band proceeded across the sands of Musselburgh and occupied Seton House. The Earl of Mar had put himself in correspondence with the Jacobites in the districts near the border, and to them Macintosh now pushed onwards. The Lords Kenmure and Winton, with Lockhart of Carnwath, and many other Jacobite gentlemen, assembled within the mountain barriers of the vale of Moffat, and resolved to march to Dumfries, where, however, they were effectually resisted by the citizens and the neighbouring gentry and farmers, who were whigs and presbyterians. After some discussion as to their future proceedings, they resolved to march into England, where they expected to be joined by a large body from the north-western counties. A junction

was effected with the English insurgents under Forster, at Rothbury, and the united army, which was small and ill provided, hearing of Macintosh's enterprise, and his proposal to meet them at Kelso, went thither and formed a second junction. They now marched into England. As they proceeded they were elated with something like victory, for a number of the country people who had been embodied to oppose them fled at their approach, and they managed with much success to elude the regular troops. Having taken up a position at Preston, they were surprised by General Wills in a moment of enjoyment and security. The English insurgents, most of whom were gentlemen of luxurious habits, tired of the way of life they had been leading, and ready to buy ease at any price, at once agreed to surrender, but Macintosh and his fierce Highlanders Nov. 12, } made an effort to stand out. It was in vain, however, 1715. } and they were soon overpowered.

4. SHERIFFMUIR.—In the meantime the Earl of Mar, under advantages which Montrose or Dundee would have turned to brilliant achievements, was doing little or nothing. At length he came to the determination of attempting to cross the frith, and to this end began a march on Stirling. The Duke of Argyle, though commanding a smaller force, resolved if possible to prevent this attempt by fighting the insurgent army. He appeared before them somewhat to their surprise near Dunblane, on the 13th of September,—the day after the disaster suffered by the other branch of the rebel forces at Preston. The encounter was somewhat peculiar,—a hilly ridge lay between the combatants, and as they approached they competed for the advantage of being first at the top, and so pouring down on the enemy. Thus the opposing hosts were invisible to each other till they met on the summit. The impetuous onslaught of the Highlanders, which often decided a battle in a moment, was lost from the want of a commander who knew their ways. The result of the combat was singular and almost ludicrous. The right wing of the rebels having charged with their usual vigour broke the left wing of Argyle's army, but did not pursue their advantage. At the same time their left wing was beaten back by the Duke of Argyle, and he in his turn charging, the insurgents fled. When he returned from the pursuit he did not deem it prudent to attack their victorious right wing, and Mar drew them off northwards, confessing that the object of his march to the south was defeated. Such was the battle of Sheriffmuir, which each party claimed as a victory.

The Jacobites had looked for great assistance from France,

but the death of Louis XIV. blighted their hopes. They received a little money and some arms, and at length, on the 22d of December, they learned that their king himself, as they styled their exiled prince, had arrived at Aberdeen. This was in the end the most unwelcome accession of all, for James was a person of weak mind and reserved timid manners, whose presence, instead of inspiring enthusiasm, would have damped a more hopeful cause. The expressive question of a Highlander on seeing him was—"Can it speak?" Argyle, resolved on vigorous measures, was determined to besiege Perth, where the Pretender was fortified, and Mar judged it wise to retreat northwards. After they passed Montrose, an opportunity for escaping to the continent occurred, and it was taken advantage of by the prince, with Mar, Melfort, Drummond, and other leaders. The rebellion now died away, and while its principal instigators had escaped, the vengeance of the government fell upon the secondary leaders to an extent that made the ministry justly unpopular.

5. Various measures were now adopted for keeping the Highlanders in check. They were prohibited from bearing arms, forts were built, and military roads were laid down, which might enable troops to march into their farthest recesses. Though many of the gentry and Highland chiefs preserved their Jacobite principles, they had few opportunities of exhibiting them during the remainder of George the First's reign. Some riots took place, chiefly arising from the imposition of excise duties and other taxes, and at one very serious outbreak in Glasgow, in 1725, some people were killed.

PORTEOUS MOB.—The unpopularity of the new excise and customs duties sometimes made the smuggler be looked upon as a hero rather than a criminal. In the year 1736, two men, named Wilson and Robertson, had been condemned to death for robbing the custom-house of Kirkcaldy,—a feat looked on by many as a public service. They had attempted to escape, and having made a hole in the prison wall, Robertson, who was slender, wished to pass through it first, but Wilson, a bulky man, obstinately insisting on making the attempt, stuck in the gap and so defeated the project. He felt the reproach of his comrade's fate resting on him, and while listening to the condemned sermon at church, with an enormous effort of strength he seized hold of the guards, and gave Robertson an opportunity of escape, in which the congregation did not molest him. When Wilson was led out to execution it was believed that Robertson would bring a band of fellow-smugglers to his rescue. The fatal ceremony proceeded, however, without interruption; but when it was over there were symptoms of commotion, and

the executioner was attacked and abused. The city guard, acting under their commander Captain Porteous, fired on the mob and killed some of them. As the circumstances were not believed sufficient to justify this act, a storm of public indignation was raised against Porteous, and he was tried and condemned to death for murder. The people were exultingly expecting his execution when a reprieve came from court. Some unknown individuals, however, had determined that he should die. A mob, headed by a number of superior persons, who preserved careful order, entered the city of Edinburgh as the western gate at Portsburgh was about to be closed, disarmed the town guard, and took possession of the streets. They next attacked the Tolbooth, an old turreted fortalice, where the unhappy man, in the joy of his release, was entertaining his friends. After great labour they broke open the doors, seized on Porteous, and with great form and regularity hanged him in the Grassmarket, the usual place of execution. They then dispersed, and the whole proceeding was buried in a mystery so profound, that all the exertions of the government and crown lawyers did not enable them to trace out one of the offenders. The utmost indignation was expressed at court against Scotland, and Edinburgh in particular, and measures were proposed which, had they been fully carried out, would have goaded the nation to rebellion. A fine was however imposed on the city; while the clergy were required to read from their pulpits monthly, for a year, a proclamation, calling on their congregations to assist in the apprehension of the murderers. This desecration of the churches, as it was considered, exasperated the clergy, and hastened the secession caused by the patronage act.

#### EXERCISES.

1. How had the Union many enemies after its adoption? What views did Louis XIV. adopt? What was the result of Admiral Forbin's attempt? What religious party began to reappear? How were the episcopalians treated? What act was passed for their relief? How was it received? Give an account of a measure which had a lasting influence in the history of the Church of Scotland.

2. What views were opened by the death of Queen Anne? Give an account of the conduct of Lord Mar. On what pretence did the chiefs assemble to meet him? What was the result of their deliberations? What was the state of the national defences at this time?

3. What fortress was an attempt made on? Describe the manner in which the Jacobites made an expedition against Edinburgh. What operations were carried on in the north of Scotland? What plan of operations did the insurgents adopt? Describe the proceedings at Preston.

4. What was the character of Mar as a leader? Give an account of the battle of Sheriffmuir. Who joined the insurgents? What effect had the presence of the prince? How did the insurrection die away?

5. What measures were taken for keeping the Highlanders in check? What effect had the new excise and customs duties on popular feeling? Give an instance showing how the enforcement of them was disliked. Give an account of the Porteous mob. What feeling did it create at court? What proceeding exasperated the clergy?

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE SECOND JACOBITE INSURRECTION, A. D. 1745—1746.

**Landing of the Pretender's Son—Insurgents at Edinburgh—Battle of Prestonpans—Advance to Derby—Battle of Falkirk—Battle of Culloden—Punishment of the Rebels—Execution of Lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Lovat—Beneficial Changes in the Highlands.**

1. IN the memorable year 1745 Scotland was in a state of complete tranquillity, and all fears of any great Jacobite attempt had died away, when in August the country was astounded by hearing that the Pretender's son had landed in the remote Highlands, and erected his standard at Glen Finnan. The French had thought that a Jacobite descent would be a good diversion in their favour in their war with Britain. They had made many promises to the Stewart family, which were always evaded; but the young prince, who was of an ardent and romantic disposition, at last set sail with a few followers, and but a scanty supply of money, in two vessels, one of which was captured on the way. It was thought that according to the usual practice of princes he would not have come without a large foreign force, and a panic was thus inspired by the first news of his landing, which was exchanged for as inconsiderate a contempt when his destitute condition was known. The government were warned by the excellent Duncan Forbes of Culloden of the danger incurred; but unfortunately the ministry, who knew nothing about the state of the Highlands, would not take the effective means which were necessary for crushing the insurrection at its commencement.

2. The prince soon gathered a formidable army, and was joined by many of the principal men of the country, such as old Lord Tullibardine, Drummond, who had been made Duke of Perth at the exiled court, Nairn, Strathallan, Cameron of Lochiel, and Lord George Murray, a member of the Athole family, who afterwards acted for some time as commander-in-chief of the insurgents, and was the only man of great military ability among them. Sir John Cope, who commanded the government forces in Scotland, was sent with a few troops to Inverness-shire to suppress the rising. The Highlanders



avoided him and passed southwards,—a fortunate circumstance in the opinion of those who knew the risk incurred by Cope of having his small army utterly destroyed in some of the wild mountain-passes. They were successful in a few trifling skirmishes, and their numbers increased as they marched onwards. At last they appeared before Edinburgh, having scarcely met with any formidable resistance. The castle was held by the government, and the citizens felt their situation a difficult one, with an army of wild Highlanders outside their walls, and a garrison who could batter their houses to pieces within. The magistrates sent a deputation to the prince offering terms of capitulation. They were refused, and as the coach with the city dignitaries was passing through the city-gate Cameron of Lochiel with some of his followers rushed in and secured an entrance. On the 17th of September, the prince made his public entry into Holyrood, the palace connected with so many strange events in the history of his ancestors.

3. PRESTONPANS.—While the Highlanders marched southward, Sir John Cope, feeling himself responsible for having left the Lowlands unprotected, formed the design of falling on the prince's army by surprise and at once annihilating it. For this purpose he embarked his troops and sailed southwards, landing at Dunbar. The prince and his advisers, highly elated by their hitherto successful progress, resolved to march forward and confront the royal army, and risk the fortune of the enterprise on a battle. For this purpose they marched from Edinburgh, winding by Duddingston round the base of Arthur's Seat, and pursuing the old road towards Musselburgh, where they crossed the Esk. Here the ground is flat towards the sea, but rises in an elevated ridge at a short distance. The prince's troops kept the upper ground, and when the two armies came in sight of each other that of Cope occupied the lower plain. The land all around is now in a state of high cultivation, but at that time there lay a dangerous morass between the two hosts. A gentleman who knew the country agreed to lead the Highland army by a path across this morass, and they proceeded silently to march through it before daylight on the 20th September. A thick frosty mist concealed them until they had taken up their position on the firm ground. When the sun rose and drew up the curtain of fog, Cope saw the whole army before him prepared for battle. The regular troops of the great European powers at that time had one general method of fighting, and were not prepared for any novelties. The onset of the Highlanders was quite peculiar. Instead of being formed in lines, they were scattered in knots according to their clans. Those who had firearms discharged

them and threw them away. They then rushed furiously on, slashing with their broadswords, and if they were met by a barrier of fixed bayonets, they pushed them aside with their small shields and broke in upon the line. The effect of this method of fighting was, that if they were successful, their opponents were at once put to flight, but if they were steadily received they were entirely at the mercy of their enemy. On this occasion they were completely victorious. Cope's army, horse and foot, gave way at once, and was pursued with much slaughter. The day was memorable for the death of the amiable Colonel Gardiner, one of Cope's officers, whose house was in the middle of the field of battle.

4. Many who had hesitated now joined the young prince, and the wily old Lord Lovat, preparing to side with the successful party, got his son with the clan Fraser to make arrangements for going over to the insurgents, while he himself pretended to hold by the government. Had it not been for the courage and discretion of the President Forbes, the danger to the government would have been immensely increased, for partly by threats, partly by the influence of his sound judgment, he prevented Macdonald of Sleat and Macleod of Macleod from raising their men, and held a watchful control over the motions of Lovat. Charles acted the part of his father's representative with considerable state, and the old palace of Holyrood witnessed many levees and brilliant entertainments. When the more serious business of his future operations was considered, a resolution was adopted to march into England and unite with the Jacobite gentry of the northern shires. On the 31st October the army left Edinburgh. Its misfortunes soon commenced, for the Highlanders, who did not like long campaigns, deserted in great numbers on reaching the borders of England. As they passed southwards they besieged and took Carlisle, where they left a small garrison. On reaching Preston they felt a superstitious depression from remembering that twice had armies of their countrymen reached that town and been defeated. However, this was not to be the place at which their fate would be decided, and they pressed on to Derby. Hitherto they had been much disappointed in their expectations of aid from the English Jacobites. They sometimes encountered much cheering and enthusiasm, but neither the gentry nor the yeomen showed much inclination to join them. When they proceeded farther southward symptoms of opposition and hatred became visible. On reaching Derby it was necessary gravely to consider their position. They were only 127 miles from London. They had inspired sufficient alarm into that great city, and no one could venture to predict

what might be the effect of a sudden attack in dispiriting the friends of government and encouraging the Jacobites. But the prince's advisers could not conceal that the chances of success were very few and those of destruction numerous. The Duke of Cumberland was on his march to meet them with ten thousand men. Another army equal to their own was within three days' march, and George II., no mean commander, was to put himself at the head of his guards, who were marshalled on Finchley Common. The insurgent forces had none of the subordination suited for a difficult enterprise, and the chiefs grudged obedience to their commander, Lord George Murray, who was not himself the head of a clan.

5. It was not without the greatest difficulty that Charles was induced to sanction the retreat now absolutely necessary, and it began on the 5th of December. Henceforth all who were connected with the expedition seemed to lose heart and purpose. When actual danger was at hand, however, they encountered it with their old spirit, and bravely dispersed some country yeomanry and other troops who attempted to harass their retreat. On the 20th December they re-entered Scotland, but the country was in a very different condition from that in which they had left it. The authorities had resumed possession of the capital, and bands of militia and volunteers had been assembled in the other towns ready to support the principles of the Revolution. Great assistance had been expected from France; but a very small force only had been sent over under the command of Lord George Drummond, who held a commission in the French service. The Jacobite army, however, found itself augmented by those clans which had been induced to take their side by the victory of Prestonpans. Thus, there were assembled at Perth the clans of Mackenzie, Macintosh, Fraser, and Farquharson, which, with the French and other levies, made an additional force of 4000 men. A gleam of hope now revisited the prince's cause. General Hawley had been sent forward by Cumberland to press on the insurgents as they passed northwards. He approached them between Stirling and Falkirk, but being a bigoted soldier of the formal school he professed to despise his enemy, and would neither press them with vigour nor take proper precautions against a surprise. He was spending his time indolently in Callender House, when he learned that Lord George Murray was pressing forward to attack his forces in the muir of Falkirk. He did not want courage, and putting himself at the head of his dragoons rapidly ascended the muir with the view of first reaching the highest level. He did so; but the Highlanders pressed so vigorously forward on his horse, dis-

charging their muskets with great precision, that the whole force was thrown into confusion. In the same manner the right and centre of the foot, having a storm beating in their faces, were put to flight. In another portion of the field the advantage was with the king's troops, but on the whole Hawley had suffered a defeat. He obtained little sympathy, for he was a brutal rapacious man, and had shown a malicious pleasure at the misfortune of his brother officer Cope.

This gleam of sunshine was of short duration. The Duke of Cumberland had at last been instructed to enter Scotland with his well-disciplined army. The prince expected that his troops would be prepared to give battle, but again he had to yield to the general wish of the leaders, who urged a retreat into the Highlands. They made Inverness their headquarters, driving out Lord Loudon, who had retained that town for the government, and made it the means of overawing Lovat and the neighbouring chiefs. Loudon and President Forbes were compelled to retreat northwards, and the Highland army occupied itself in reducing the strongholds around. They seized every fortified place except Fort William, which, being well manned and victualled, stood out and interrupted their communication with the west.

6. CULLODEN.—On the 8th of April the Duke of Cumberland left Aberdeen on his march to Inverness. The animosities and jealousies in the prince's army were daily increasing, and, to add to their bad influence, he was becoming suspicious of Lord George Murray, and indeed of all the Scottish commanders, as not giving prompt obedience to his wishes. There were two plans of operation suggested, either of which might perhaps have afforded a momentary success. The one was to take up a position in one of the passes of the mountains, which Cumberland would be unable to force. The other to fall upon his army and surprise it as it passed one of the defiles at the entry of the Highlands. The several projects were discussed till it was too late to make a choice. Cumberland was approaching, and the Highlanders tired, dispirited, and destitute of provisions, were obliged to give battle on an elevated plain, where there were no advantages to be obtained by their peculiar mode of fighting. The place where the decisive battle of the 16th of April was fought was then called Drummossie, but afterwards Culloden Muir, from its being part of the property of the Lord President Forbes of Culloden. The conflict was quickly ended. The duke knew well that if a steady front could be preserved against the first rush of the Highlanders, they would become a confused mass who might be bayoneted and ploughed down by cannon. The artillery

immediately began to play on them, and after it had done fearful execution the Highlanders made their onset, not however with their usual vigour, for the miserable jealousy of the clans had caused some of them to hold back at the critical moment. Great multitudes of them were shot down before they reached the steady columns of their opponents, and the few who encountered them with the broadsword were unable to make any impression. The prince, surrounded by confusion, at last took to flight, and the scattered Highlanders were mercilessly slaughtered. Cumberland disgraced his memory by the cruelties which he afterwards inflicted on the surrounding country. As to the unhappy prince, his wanderings and wonderful escapes from pursuit make a romance of themselves. A large reward was offered for his head, and it is to the honour of the primitive people to whom he committed himself that it was never claimed.

7. After such an insurrection was suppressed, it was to be expected that punishment would alight on some of those concerned in it, and especially on the chief actors who had not hesitated to sacrifice the peace of the country to their ambitious views. Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino, with the crafty Lovat, who had at last outwitted himself, were solemnly tried by their peers and beheaded. The punishments awarded against these and the other leaders, if severe, fell at least on the proper parties; but it was felt that unnecessary cruelty had been inflicted on the subordinate instruments, such as the poor clansmen, who were in many instances forced into the service by the despotic commands of their chiefs. There was, at the same time, a disposition in the ministry to treat the whole country of Scotland as if it were a conquered province. Thus the best friends of the government who had exerted themselves to make up for its negligence—such as the President Forbes—had reason to be mortified and offended. The episcopalians, who were suspected, not without reason, of being Jacobites, were treated with special severity. In fact, an act was passed intended for the entire suppression of Scottish episcopacy, as it required all episcopal clergymen to be registered, but allowed the privilege of registration only to those who held their orders from England or Ireland.

But other measures were adopted which were an undoubted blessing to the country. The chiefs and great landlords possessed their tyrannical power over their vassals from what were called hereditary jurisdictions; that is to say, they succeeded by hereditary descent not only to their estates, but to the right to administer justice within them. Thus Lovat was a "lord of Regality," as it was termed, who had his own

jail, and levied penalties whenever he thought fit. These privileges were abolished, the owners receiving a pecuniary compensation. The estates of those who were concerned in the rebellion were forfeited, and, after payment of the creditors, annexed to the crown and managed by a government board. A powerful fortress called Fort George was built near Inverness, and new military roads were made penetrating to the farthest recesses of the Highlands.

## EXERCISES.

1. What was the state of the country in 1745? What event created excitement? What was peculiar in the prince's expedition? How was the conduct of the government blamable?
2. Who were the chief persons who joined the prince? Who was the man of chief ability among them? Who had been sent to intercept them? How did they elude him? What was the situation of Edinburgh? How was it seized?
3. What plan did Sir John Cope pursue? How did the prince's army proceed to meet him? Describe the nature of the ground. What was the nature of Cope's troops? Describe the battle of Prestonpans.
4. What was the effect of this success on the Highland chiefs? What resolution was adopted by the prince? What did they expect in their march into England? What reception did they meet with? How far did they penetrate? What rendered a retreat necessary?
5. What was the effect of the retreat on the army? In what state did they find Scotland? Give an account of the battle of Falkirk. What formidable preparations were made for suppressing the outbreak? What movements were adopted by the Jacobite army?
6. What occasioned weakness in the prince's army? What two plans of operation might he have followed? What did he find it actually necessary to adopt? Give an account of the battle of Culloden.
7. Who were the most conspicuous persons who suffered? How was unnecessary cruelty exercised? How was the nation at large treated? What severities were specially applied to the episcopalians? Give an account of the abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions. What other measures were adopted?

## CHAPTER XVI.

FROM THE EXTINCTION OF THE JACOBITE INSURRECTIONS  
TO THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY,  
A. D. 1746—1850.

Progress of Scotland—Burghers and Anti-Burghers—Foundation of the Relief Church—Catholic Riots—Episcopalian Disabilities removed—Influence of the French Revolution—The Convention of Delegates—Learning, Literature, and Science in Scotland—Scottish Reform Bill—Municipal Reform Bill—Secession of the Free Church.

1. AFTER the suppression of this last effort of the Stewart family to regain its ancient power, the history of Scotland is

more completely than ever blended with that of the British empire. Previous to this event a certain restlessness and even the peculiarities of national character prevented the people from fully profiting by the advantages of the Union. But the country now commenced an unexampled course of prosperity, which, before a century had elapsed, brought it up to such a level of wealth and civilisation as England occupied several centuries in reaching. Before the rebellion the aristocracy even were miserably poor, and many of them turned to petty shopkeeping and handicraft occupations. But the extensive trade with the British colonies, and the great empire which has grown up in the east, have laid open to them more inviting and suitable paths to fortune. At this moment there is no known portion of the globe which is a stranger to Scottish enterprise, ability, and integrity. It was the idea of the great Lord Chatham, that even the Jacobite rebellion had shown an amount of military fervour which the country ought to take advantage of. Instead of frowning on these pristine people, the Highlanders, he encouraged them, and the chiefs whose poverty oppressed them received commissions in the army, while their followers made excellent soldiers. Their disposition is naturally loyal, and thus they were converted from malcontents into able and steady defenders of the institutions of their country.

2. It has already been mentioned that, in consequence of the Patronage Act, the first secession from the Church of Scotland took place in 1740. Under the leadership of the Erskines and other able and sincere men, the Secession Church rapidly increased in popularity and importance. An oath expressive of belief in the true religion as established by law was appointed to be taken by all who obtained the privilege of burghess in a royal burgh. Many of the clergy of the Secession objected to an oath which would seem to be an acknowledgment of the soundness of the Established Church. The body was thus divided into two, those who objected to the oath being called Anti-Burghers, and those who acceded to it Burghers. They were reunited in 1820. In the year 1755, a majority of the inhabitants of Jedburgh, desiring to have for their minister the Reverend Mr Boston, petitioned the town council, who were patrons of the living, to that effect. Their request was disregarded, and Boston, leaving the established church, became their pastor at a fixed salary, which his admirers bound themselves to pay him. This example being followed in other instances was the foundation of the Relief Church, which became a large dissenting body.

3. CATHOLIC RIOTS.—In the year 1780, nearly a century from the period when the Roman-catholics had exercised any

dangerous influence in the state, it was believed that the time had come when some of the severest of the penal laws against them might be relaxed. One of the chief friends of a scheme of toleration was a distinguished Scotchman who held a high office,—William Murray, Lord Mansfield, the chief-justice of the King's Bench. There was still, however, too strong a prejudice on the subject, both in England and Scotland, for any measure of relaxation to be permitted to pass quietly. This feeling was excited to its fullest activity by an extraordinary man, Lord George Gordon, a member of the ducal family of that name, who was partially insane, yet possessed wonderful powers of organization and means of rousing the feelings of the mob. On the 2d of February, the populace attacked and set fire to a dwelling-house where some Roman-catholics lived, one of whom was said to enjoy secretly the prohibited rank of bishop. They at the same time gutted a catholic chapel in Edinburgh, and insulted Principal Robertson, Mr Crosbie the barrister, and many eminent citizens, whom they thought favourable to the relaxation of the law. This called forth a proclamation from the provost, in which he attributed the outrages to the "apprehensions, fears, and distressed minds of well-meaning people," and gave an assurance that there should be no relaxation of the penal laws. The same practices were imitated in Glasgow and other towns. They were certainly disgraceful, but not nearly so much so as the scenes that took place in London, when the whole of that great city was for days in the hands of savage insurgents. In England, however, the relief bill had passed. The violence already expressed, and the formation of a "Protestant Association," postponed such a measure for Scotland.

With regard to the penal laws which pressed with nearly equal severity on the Scottish episcopalians, on the death of the pretender Prince Charles Edward in 1783 their object no longer existed, since both the clergy and laity were willing to acknowledge the existing government, though the king was not, as many of them supposed, by any means the nearest heir of the Stewarts. It was not, however, until the year 1799 that their disabilities were removed.

4. In the meantime, the influence of the American and still more of the French revolution was deeply felt in Scotland. Looking back to what occurred from the years 1793 to 1795, we now wonder at the violent expressions on the one side and the unnecessary terror displayed on the other. In fact, just before the excesses of the French revolution, a large number of the most influential people in Britain, including the Duke of Richmond and Mr Pitt himself, had warmly advocated the



most liberal principles of political reform. When, however, the French proceeded from the redress of grievances to violence and cruelty, and especially when they put the king and queen to death and established the reign of terror, these gentlemen became afraid of all innovation, and thought that the promulgation of their principles should at least be postponed. There were others, such as the party of Mr Fox, who saw no reason for abandoning former opinions, and trusted in the innate steadiness and good sense of the country. They were, however, in a minority, at least in the legislature, where the violence of the French had thus the effect of postponing for nearly half a century the reform of the British institutions.

An association met in Edinburgh in 1793, adopting the pompous title of a Convention of Delegates. Its members had the bad taste to copy the French expressions, calling each other citizens, and, in imitation of the French convention, giving to persons of consequence what they called the honour of the sittings. It is now the general belief that it would have been better had the government let these theoretical enthusiasts alone, and merely looked after some other men much more dangerous, who were plotting treason, and endeavouring to make arrangements for helping a French invasion. Mr Thomas Muir, a young advocate, highly respected for the simplicity of his character and the amiability of his disposition, was tried before the Court of Justiciary, and sentenced to transportation. Mr Fysche Palmer, an English gentleman of great ability, but of more enthusiasm than discretion, underwent the same fate, along with some others. Mr Fox and Mr Adam brought forward the case of the convicts in parliament, maintaining that, but for some latent defects in the law of Scotland, so severe a punishment as transportation could not have been imposed on these men; but before this debate began they were far on their way to their place of exile.

5. LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.—The great events of the long European war, which may be said to have lasted with short intervals from 1793 to 1815, were a matter of more importance even to Scotsmen than any local matters peculiarly connected with their country. These can however be better read in a history of Britain than in the present work, which relates solely to Scotland. To the eminent commanders who distinguished themselves in this long conflict, Scotland contributed a full proportion: it is only necessary to name Sir Ralph Abercromby, Sir John Moore, Sir David Baird, and Lord Dalhousie.

But Scotland had been during this long war, and for some time before it commenced, drawing attention through the rest of Europe by men distinguished in those arts of peace which are

believed by many to be more worthy of admiration than the highest warlike achievements. Like everything else in the country, literature suffered under a deadly depression for some time after the Union. Among the first to restore the national character in this department of exertion was James Thomson, the author of the *Seasons*,—a book which is too well known to require criticism. In the middle of the eighteenth century David Hume acquired a reputation all over Europe as a philosopher and historian. Dr Adam Smith followed out certain views in political economy which Hume had suggested, and with such good purpose that his work has probably had more influence on modern legislation than any other. Reid and Dr Dugald Stewart wrote valuable books on metaphysics, and constructed a mental science of their own which is known on the continent as "the Scottish School." Towards the end of the eighteenth century flourished Robert Burns, one of the most remarkable men that any age or country has ever produced. He is pre-eminently the bard of Scotland. Though a peasant's son and self-educated, he could write a purer English style, both in prose and poetry, than many learned men of his day. But it was his great pride to apply his native language to lyrical and descriptive poetry, and he did so in a manner to excite astonishment at the native dignity, simplicity, and richness of the Scottish tongue.

Coming to a later period, we have the genius of Scott, exhibited first in poetry but far more effectively in those novels which, for accuracy in their historical characteristics, romantic incident, and a spirit of mingled sense and sentiment, are perhaps unmatched in any language. His contemporaries, Jeffrey, Chalmers, and Wilson, have been before the world so lately that it is unnecessary to enumerate their qualifications.

The period just alluded to at the same time had produced many eminent men in science. In medicine and surgery, there were the Hunters and Monros. In the miscellaneous sciences, there were Hutton, Robison, Playfair, and Leslie; while James Watt is now generally admitted to have done more than any other man towards the great system of steam work which has changed the face of Britain, and bids fair to produce an equal effect in every civilized portion of the globe.

6. SCOTTISH REFORM BILL.—With the exception of some alterations in the system of administering justice, such as the partition of the Court of Session into two divisions in 1808, and the establishment of trial by jury in civil cases in 1815, there were few legislative measures of peculiar importance to Scotland between the beginning of the century and the passing of the reform bill. Scotland felt a deep interest in this measure,

for the national representation was more corrupt than even that of England. In the counties freeholders only had the right of voting; and from some peculiarities in the law of Scotland they were a very small body, and were able to sell for a considerable sum their freehold right, with the privilege of voting, independently of property. The representatives of the towns were chosen by a class who were much more dangerous, as they were more closely limited, and were men of a class less accustomed to be influenced by high motives. The general plan of the reform bill was to give the right of election to those who possessed property worth ten pounds a-year, and to all who occupied houses for which they paid that amount of rent. To apply the rule to farmers, whose rent is rather for the ground they cultivate than for the house they live in, the criterion adopted was a yearly rental of fifty pounds. When this plan was propounded, it created a lively sensation through Scotland. Petitions in its favour poured into parliament; large public meetings were held; and as appearances in parliament were sometimes unfavourable to the prospects of the measure, the attitude of the people assumed a menacing appearance. Since the Revolution, indeed, the country never had been so near a terrible crisis, and all peaceful citizens were rejoiced when the cause of so much excitement was at an end. The reform act for Scotland received the royal assent on the 14th of July 1832.

Two years afterwards an act was passed for reforming the municipal corporations, or the method of governing the towns. The system into which they had generally fallen had been what was called the self-elective, by which, through various forms according to what was called "the set" of each burgh, the town-councillors who were in office chose the persons entitled to succeed or join them. By the municipal reform acts, the selection of town-councillors was intrusted to the same class of persons who were the electors of members of parliament,—that is, the ten-pound householders. In the same year, 1834, a great sensation was created through Scotland by the sudden dismissal of the ministry who had carried the reform bill. Strenuous efforts were made for this party in the subsequent election, and as the popular influence in Scotland had been very much increased by the reform act, the country was conspicuous over England for the large majority of liberal members which it sent up.

7. THE FREE CHURCH.—The year 1834 was a memorable epoch in the history of the Church of Scotland. It will be remembered that immediately after the Revolution, an act was passed by the parliament of Scotland for enabling parishes to

get rid of the system of patronage, and that this act was repealed in Queen Anne's reign. There had always been in the church courts a body more or less considerable who strenuously objected to the exercise of patronage, and to the clergyman of any parish being forced on the parishioners if they did not think fit to come under his spiritual control. A majority of the General Assembly which met in 1834 was in favour of these views, and they embodied them in a declaration and an interim act; for they could not make the act permanent without having the consent of the presbyteries. By this act (popularly known as the *Veto Act*) it was provided that, when the majority of the male heads among the parishioners in communion with the church objected to the licentiate presented to the vacancy, it should be the function of the presbytery to reject him. This rule had not been long in operation when several difficult questions arose regarding its effect. Many litigations were conducted in the Court of Session and in the House of Lords, but it may be briefly stated that the chief questions considered were the following. It was maintained that patronage being a right of property,—patronages being actually sold,—the General Assembly had no power to undermine it by giving new powers to the inferior ecclesiastical courts. It was held at the same time that these courts, such as the presbyteries, had their legal rights, and that those which did not follow the instructions of the Assembly, but resolved to proceed as if the veto act had not passed, were entitled to the protection of the courts of law. The conflict between the two parties was long and bitter. At last the supporters of the veto or non-intrusion system found that the only manner in which they could get it carried out in its full purity was by separating themselves from the Establishment, and making a church of their own, in which, as all joined it from their own free will, so all would be prepared to accept its system of church government. This great secession, by which the Free Church was formed, occurred on the 18th of May 1843. It was an event most honourable to the clergy who, for the sake of principle, had relinquished their comfortable manse and stipends to take their chances in the results of a voluntary subscription. The effect, however, of the arrangements as to the temporalities of the Free Church was much to the credit of the laymen attached to it, who made an ample provision, not only for the clergy, but for educational and other purposes.

Four years after this secession, an important union of presbyterian bodies took place. The causes of the formation of the Relief and Secession Churches have already been mentioned.

In 1847, they became one under the name of "The United Presbyterian Church."

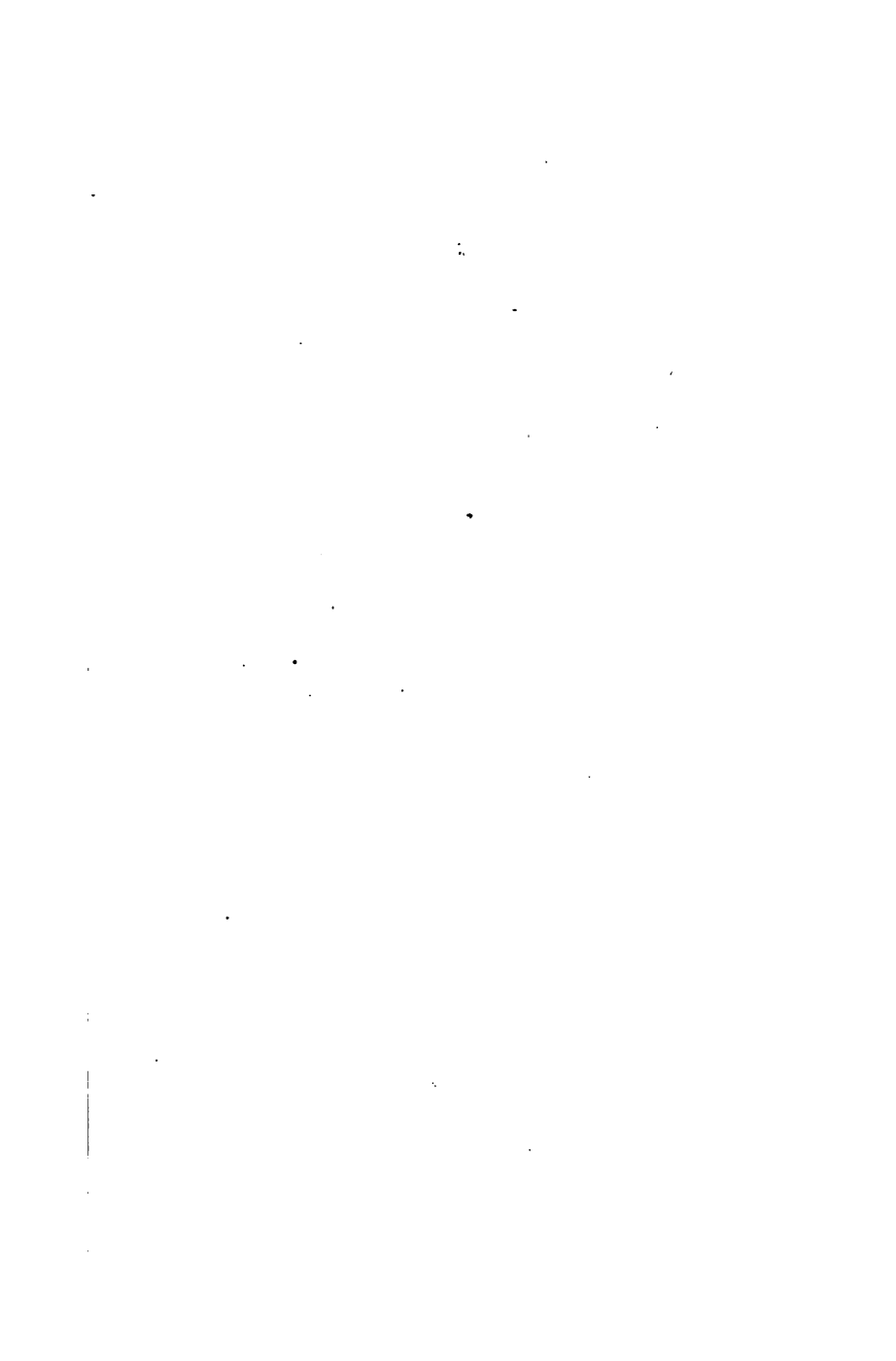
The political measures which, after the passing of the parliamentary and municipal reform bills, created most sensation in Scotland were those for the creation of free trade, which began in Sir Robert Peel's tariff in 1842, and ended with the act of Lord John Russell's government in 1849, for the abolition of the navigation laws. The country suffered much from a mercantile depression in 1847, which involved the whole empire. In the great convulsion of the European states in 1848, Scotland only experienced some petty riots, and the year 1850 showed healthy symptoms of national prosperity.

#### EXERCISES.

1. What is the character of Scottish history after the extinction of the insurrections? Give an account of the rise of the country. What measure was adopted to conciliate the Highland clansmen?
2. What religious body made progress? How did the Secession body come to be divided? How and when was the Relief Church formed?
3. What penal laws were proposed to be relaxed in 1780? What was the effect of the proposal? What removed the object of the penal laws against the episcopalians? When were the disabilities removed?
4. What was the effect of the first French revolution on the opinions of statesmen? What effect had it on the country in retarding reform? What course of conduct did the reformers and others pursue? What steps did the government take?
5. What eminent commanders in the late war were Scotsmen? For what other men was Scotland still more distinguished? Give some account of the principal literary men of the last century? Who have been distinguished in the same walk in later times? Give an account of the principal scientific men of Scotland.
6. What is the general character of the measures for Scotland down to the passing of the reform act? Describe the state of the representation of Scotland previous to that measure. Give an account of the provisions of the measure. What was the state of the country while it was under discussion? When did it pass? What measure followed it? What was the tone of popular feeling in Scotland?
7. What law had been long disliked by a large body of the Scottish clergy? What measure was adopted by the General Assembly in 1834? Give an account of the substance of the veto act. What conflict followed it? Under what circumstances was the Free Church formed? What union of two religious bodies followed this secession? What late measures were of importance in Scotland? What was the state of the country in the year 1850?

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